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# STATESIDE / THE OKLAHOMA FACTOR

## Politics and Oil Just Don't Mix Energy Tax Plan Angers Voters in Oklahoma

By Sam Howe Verhovek  
*New York Times Service*

ELGIN, Oklahoma — It comes as no surprise to students of politics that two of the leaders of the revolt in President Bill Clinton's own party against his economic package are from Oklahoma — Senator David L. Boren and Representative Dave McCurdy.

Oklahoma voters, in a rage after the oil-price collapse of the 1980s led to huge tax increases in this oil-producing state, approved an amendment to the state's constitution saying there could be no more state tax increases without a direct vote of the people.

And if any new tax out of Washington could provoke particular ire, it is an energy tax. Oklahoma, after all, is the only state in the United States with a working oil rig on the grounds of its Capitol.

When the Democratic Party made a campaign pledge last year to reinvigorate the economy, they took back the White House and maintained control of both houses of Congress, and there was much talk of finally breaking the political deadlock in Washington.

But in Oklahoma — a state where nearly two-thirds of the people still call themselves Democrats, even though George Bush won the state in last year's election — there is intense pressure on elected officials to fight any tax increases. And there is considerable doubt that the increases that Mr. Clinton wants will ever be used, as he pledges, to cut the deficit.

Here, the mistrust of government that seems to be everywhere today is being exacerbated by a vigorous industry campaign against the energy tax. The campaign has included television commercials and full-page newspaper advertisements that say taxpayers will be paying extra "every time you drive your car, turn on the lights, wash your clothes and cook your meals."

To be sure, some Oklahoma Democrats argue that now is the time for loyalty to the party — and for getting with the president's program.

"Somebody needs to send both Daves a telegram saying, 'Hey, we won in 1992,'" Representative Mike Synar said.

But both Mr. Boren and Mr. McCurdy say they are the only ones loyal to the "New Democrat" theme on which Mr. Clinton campaigned and won.

"In a sense we're saying, 'Let Clinton be Clinton,'" Mr. Boren said Sunday in Washington. The senator, who led a bipartisan group in offering an alternate deficit-cutting plan last week, said Mr. Clinton had betrayed his roots by calling for \$340 billion in tax increases.

Mr. Boren said the president should have proposed to cut more spending.

"Sometimes when you see a friend go astray," he

said, "the best thing to do is tell the friend the truth." [The White House said Monday that Mr. Clinton would press for his broad-based energy tax in Congress "as it is." The Associated Press reported.]

Mr. McCurdy, who had considered running for president himself before endorsing Mr. Clinton and campaigning in 36 states for him, said opposing him now was "the most painful thing I've had to do" as a member of Congress.

"But I hear it day in and day out," said Mr. McCurdy, who came to the football field in this southwestern Oklahoma farming town to address the 62-member graduating class at Elgin High School. "The phone rings off the hook, not only from constituents, but from people around the country. They're just shocked at the apparent shift in position, the fact that what we campaigned for is not being shown."

There has been no final decision in Washington on whether there will be an energy tax, and on whether such a tax will be imposed directly on the people who pull oil and gas out of the ground or, down the line, on people who buy it to run their cars or heat their homes. But in Oklahoma, it seems to be an article of faith that any energy tax would be disproportionately bad for the state.

Industry leaders, saying higher energy costs would be a burden for everybody, from manufacturers to farmers, have said job losses would total as many as 11,000 in the state — a number of uncertain origins that nevertheless seems to have stuck.

One advertisement, apparently mocking the president's plan to tax energy on the basis of its heat content in British thermal units, says the so-called Bru tax really stands for "Buy thermal underwear" or "Big-time unemployment."

Some economists here have suggested that the structure of the tax would actually encourage development of natural gas; Oklahoma has even more natural gas than oil. But that argument has been all but drowned out.

The chief problem that the president's program has run into in Oklahoma seems to be a widespread feeling that it is too heavy on tax increases and too short on spending cuts.

"The general perception a lot of people have is that we thought he was going to be a kind of conservative or moderate Democrat," said Larkin Warner, a professor of economics at Oklahoma State University. "But a lot of people here feel, well, what happened to that rhetoric about tightening up on welfare? What happened to a dollar in cuts for a dollar in taxes? They feel they're getting some signals now that it's not that way at all."



The father of Yoshihiro Hattori talking with reporters in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, after a jury acquitted the man who shot and killed his son, an exchange student.

## For Japan, Acquittal Confirms Worst View of U.S.

By T. R. Reid  
*Washington Post Service*

TOKYO — An acquittal in Louisiana in the Halloween shooting of a Japanese exchange student may well have as much social impact here as the first Rodney King trial had in the United States.

When a Baton Rouge jury on Sunday delivered a verdict of not guilty in favor of the man who shot and killed a 16-year-old Japanese exchange student last October, the verdict immediately became Japan's top news.

The press took it as confirmation of the worst stereotypes of the United States — a sick country, according to the reports, that has lost greatness amid nagging social problems and constant fear.

"With the collapse of their economy and tension between the races, Americans spend their lives full of anger and fear," wrote a Hoseni University professor, Rinzji Sotai, in a typical comment. "And they really believe that their guns will protect them."

Japanese commentators compared their own gunless and largely crime-free society to America. "Japan has always looked up to America," said the TV-Asahi commentator, Takashi Wada. "But now, which

society is more mature? The idea that you protect people by shooting guns is barbarian."

Such comments reflect the sharp recent decline in respect that the Japanese have traditionally held toward the United States, long their chief ally and mentor in world affairs. The change in national mood has clearly been accelerated by the verdict in the Baton Rouge killing, known in Japan as the Freeze Case.

Yoshihiro Hattori, a foreign exchange student, was looking for a Halloween party and accidentally went to the wrong house. The homeowner, Rodney Pears, 32, shouted "Freeze!" — a command the Japanese boy evidently did not understand — and then fired at close range with a large-caliber pistol.

Initially the U.S. media treated the case as just another accidental shooting, hardly news in a country that had some 10,000 handgun killings last year. The horrified reaction in Japan prompted Americans to follow the case more closely. It became a major cause for both sides of gun control.

Nonetheless, a recurrent theme in the Japanese reports was that Mr. Pears was acquitted because most Americans consid-

er it normal to shoot an unknown visitor at the door.

Television has repeatedly shown interviews with neighbors describing the defendant as a fine person. Countless American man-in-the-street interviews have been broadcast here since the verdict, and virtually all have said that Mr. Pears did the right thing if indeed he felt he was protecting his family. Similar interviews in Japan failed to uncover a single person who agreed with the verdict.

There also seemed to be a sense among the Japanese that government in America somehow supported the shooting. This view was strengthened when Melinda Schlegmann, the Louisiana lieutenant governor, speaking on ABC's Nightline broadcast in Japan, seemed to express as much concern about her state's tourism industry as about the dead boy. "We have to remember," she said, that last year Louisiana "had 500,000 international visitors and most people hopefully went home with a positive attitude."

Japan's government did not join the harsh chorus. Attitudes toward possession of guns are based on the different histories of various countries, said a government spokesman. But the Japanese press described a country beset with drugs, unem-

ployment, street crime and fatal shootings in suburban front yards.

In a commentary in the Yomiuri Shimbun, the nation's largest newspaper, a Hitotsubashi University professor, Masao Horibe, compared American suburbs to war zones in the Third World. "Just as life is dangerous for Japanese peace-keeping troops in Cambodia, so it is dangerous for our tourists going to America," he wrote.

The shooting was particularly shocking to the Japanese because such an incident is all but inconceivable here. Ownership of almost any weapon — including guns, swords and daggers — is illegal in Japan. Even in organized crime, guns are so rare that gang battles are usually fought with fists or kitchen knives. There is so little street crime that the Japanese language does not have a word for mugging.

Comparing that state of affairs to current America, many reporters allowed a tone of moral superiority to seep into their commentary.

"It is said that the ready acceptance of guns in America is just the result of a cultural difference," said Japan's most popular news anchor, Hiroshi Kume of TV-Asahi. "But over there — how can you call it a culture?"

### ★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

#### Down to the Sea With a Drug Manufacturer

WASHINGTON — Over Memorial Day weekend at the end of this month, 20 or 30 congressional staff members and their spouses will be entertained at Commerce's quaint Mystic Seaport maritime center as guests of Pfizer Inc., a major pharmaceutical company.

The free getaway offers meetings with scientists and tours of the company's nearby research center, according to the invitation. But it won't be all work. There will be a lobster dinner, food and drinks at a hotel hospitality suite, and side trips to the harbor and aquarium. Of course, there will be informal times with "friendly officials," too.

"This is not lobbying," insisted Ken Bowler, one of two Pfizer lobbyists organizing the event. "My spin on this is that it is very informal. People can see what we are doing. There's time to actually talk to scientists."

Even though it is indeed deemed educational and violates no ethics rules, the junket could not come at a more opportune moment for the company.

As an internal memo from an industry coalition noted, President Bill Clinton has identified pharmaceutical manufacturers as "public enemy No. 1" in his fight for health-care reform. Some form of restraint on drug prices may be part of Mr. Clinton's plan.

Price controls, like the rest of Mr. Clinton's package, will require congressional approval. As a result, congressional staff members are expected to play an important role in influencing their bosses on the complex legislation.

Even in a city where lobbying is pervasive, the battle over health care revision is shaping up as the most bruising and expensive in history. As the administration's plan moves toward completion, interest groups of all types are moving into the fray, and the price of all of the lobbying is expected to exceed \$100 million. (LAT)

#### Environmental Agency is Called Ineffective

WASHINGTON — The Environmental Protection Agency is so hobbled by lack of funds, internal mismanagement and outside political intervention that it is largely unable to enforce environmental laws and protect the public, according to a new study.

The analysis by the Center for Resource Economics concludes that 23 years after its creation, and despite a dedicated staff, the agency "has been unable to accomplish its mission" and "cannot ensure that American communities and industries are in full compliance with a single federal environmental law."

"EPA cannot say with certainty that the pesticides and toxic chemicals we use are safe," continues the 206-page report. "It has been unable to achieve satisfactory attainment with clean-air and safe-water standards. The progress in the cleanup of hazardous waste sites is slow and ineffective. Waste management is an oxymoron, and the enforcement program issues penalties that are so low that illegal pollution is a cost-effective practice." (WFP)

#### Aspin's Doctors Happy With All but His Tennis

WASHINGTON — Two months after having a pacemaker implanted, Defense Secretary Les Aspin is setting off on two European trips and playing tennis in his spare time.

Mr. Aspin's doctors, while pleasantly surprised at his recovery so far, are fretting over his insistence on playing occasional tennis games against their advice.

"He has responded very dramatically to the pacemaker and is doing better than expected," said Dr. David Pearle, Mr. Aspin's cardiologist. "But I've expressed to him that I'd rather he not play tennis. I don't want him pushing himself on physical activities."

In late February, Mr. Aspin, 54, was placed in intensive care after suffering breathing difficulties related to a mild but potentially serious congenital heart condition. Three weeks later, he was hospitalized again with a bronchial infection, and doctors decided to implant the pacemaker.

Mr. Aspin suffers from hypertrophic cardiomyopathy, a thickening of the heart muscle that can impair the heart's ability to pump blood. When he was first hospitalized, the Pentagon said the thickness of his heart muscle had increased since his heart problems were first diagnosed in 1991. (NYT)

#### Quote/Unquote

Former President George Bush on coverage of his unsuccessful campaign for re-election: "After the election, the media started having seminars on 'were we fair to George Bush?' I don't think they would have held the seminars if they didn't know the answer." (AP)

## High Court Ends Total Cover for FBI Sources

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The FBI may not automatically withhold from public disclosure the names of all sources it contacts during criminal investigations, the Supreme Court ruled Monday.

The court, ruling unanimously in a New Jersey case, said the Federal Bureau of Investigation was not entitled to such a blanket exemption from the Freedom of Information Act's disclosure requirements.

The case involves a convicted murderer, Vincent J. Landano, who sought his FBI files in an effort to win a new trial.

"It may be true that many, or even most, individual sources will expect confidentiality," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote for the court. "But the government offers no explanation, other than ease of administration, why that expectation always should be presumed."

Congress did not give the FBI such an automatic exemption from the Freedom of Information Act, she said.

She added, "When circumstances such as the nature of the crime investigated and the witness' relation to it support an inference of confidentiality, the government is entitled to a presumption."

The ruling was not a strict defeat for the FBI. It set aside a U.S. appeals court ruling that said the FBI must demonstrate it promised confidentiality to each source whose identity it wants to protect. The FBI said this would harm its ability to protect its sources.

Justice O'Connor said judges should take a "more particularized approach" in deciding whether the identities of sources should be disclosed. The information act exempts disclosure of information gathered for law enforcement purposes that "could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of a confidential source."

#### 18 Indian Soldiers Die In Apparent Accident

The Associated Press

NEW DELHI — A bomb went off at an army firing range, killing 18 soldiers and injuring nine people in Kashmir, where troops are fighting Muslim rebels.

The bomb went off Sunday at midnight in Leh, 1,250 kilometers north of New Delhi, United News of India reported.

## U.S. Court-Martial Accepts Lesser Plea in Gay Sailor's Killing

Washington Post Service

YOKOSUKA, Japan — A U.S. Navy court-martial formally accepted a sailor's guilty plea on Monday in the killing of a gay shipmate, a case cited by homosexual-rights groups as proof of anti-homosexual feelings in the navy.

Airman Apprentice Terry M. Helvey pleaded guilty to "murder with intent to inflict great bodily harm" for beating Seaman Allen R. Schindler Jr. to death in October. The crime carries a maximum sentence of life in prison. By pleading guilty to this

charge, Mr. Helvey avoided a trial on the charge of premeditated murder, which carries a death sentence.

After accepting the plea, the court-martial at the U.S. Navy base here began a sentencing hearing. The prosecutor, Steven Marciano of the Marine Corps, said the government would seek the maximum sentence.

The murder of Mr. Schindler, described by U.S. homosexual-rights groups as a classic case of "gay-bashing" in the military, has

gained prominence amid the national debate over President Bill Clinton's proposal to end the ban on homosexuals in the military.

Mr. Schindler and Mr. Helvey were mates on the ship the Belleau Wood. In September, Mr. Schindler informed the ship's captain that he was a homosexual. While he was awaiting the obligatory dismissal from the navy, word of his sexual orientation reportedly spread among the crew.

On Oct. 27, just before the ship was to begin a three-week cruise, crew members

held parties in Sasebo, Japan, the ship's home port, near Nagasaki. Late that night, Mr. Helvey met Mr. Schindler in a city park that was said to be a meeting place for homosexuals. The indictment says that Mr. Helvey, who was trained in martial arts, beat Mr. Schindler in a public rest room at the park.

The victim's wounds were so severe that military police had difficulty identifying the body.

— T. R. REID

## Drugs: A New Road via Mexico

By Tim Weiner and Tim Golden  
*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — Cocaine smugglers working with Colombian drug cartels are starting to set up factories, warehouses and trucking companies in Mexico to exploit the flood of commerce across the border under the North American Free Trade Agreement, U.S. intelligence and drug-enforcement officials say.

Mexican smugglers are buying and setting up companies as fronts for drug trafficking, said a report written by an intelligence officer at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City. The phenomenon was confirmed by a senior U.S. drug-enforcement official, who declined to be identified.

The cocaine traffickers "intend to maximize their legitimate business enterprises within the auspices of the new U.S.-Mexico free-trade agreement," the report said.

The document said traffickers planned to invest in

trucking and warehousing businesses in Mexico as conduits for drug shipments. They have also started to buy into a special type of manufacturing and assembly plants, known as maquiladoras, as fronts for drug shipments, the senior U.S. official said.

Under a program established in 1965, maquiladoras have special tariff exemptions. Their products, assembled from U.S. component parts that move into Mexico duty-free, are then returned to the United States with minimal inspection.

"A lot of intelligence demonstrates the drug traffickers' ties to maquiladoras," the U.S. official said. "They are investing in these plants for shipments to the United States."

Gary Hufbauer, a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics and author of a favorable book about the trade pact, said the huge increases in traffic under the agreement would provide a major cover for drug traffickers.

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#### Away From Politics

- James Porter, 58, an unfrocked Roman Catholic priest, has been released from jail in Stillwater, Minnesota, after serving four months for molesting a teenage baby sitter in 1987. He is awaiting trial in Massachusetts on dozens of criminal charges accusing him of sexually abusing children while serving as a priest. He maintains he is not guilty.
  - The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the central body of Reform Judaism, has urged the government of Israel to make it easier for an estimated 150,000 immigrants to marry in Israel.
  - Seven people, including four children, died in an early morning house fire in Ratesburg-Lessville, South Carolina, but two women escaped with two small children, the authorities said.
  - A woman's gold necklace apparently saved her life by stopping a stray bullet fired in a nearby gang fight in Torrance, California. Rafaela Ramon suffered only a minor wound from the .22-caliber slug found embedded in her necklace, the police said.
  - An army panel recommended an honorable discharge for a Minnesota National Guard veteran, Captain Pam Mindt, 33, because she is a lesbian. Captain Mindt said the military "missed an opportunity to do the right thing."
  - All 350 ducks living on canals near Venice beach, in Los Angeles, must be checked to prevent a viral outbreak from spreading to migrating birds that visit the seaside community, wildlife officials said.
  - Thousands of New York City's most violence-prone novice criminals will soon be summoned to intensive therapy sessions of four hours a week or more, while less risky offenders will be monitored electronically by simply reporting to automated kiosks.
- AP, NYT

## Seoul Fires 3 Commanders To Rid Politics of Military

Reuters

SEOUL — President Kim Young Sam dismissed the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff and two army commanders Monday in an unexpected reshuffle aimed at forcing the military out of politics.

The move was made "to end the military's participation in politics, which has smeared our constitutional history, and to let the military devote itself to fulfilling its sole, sacred duty of national defense," a spokesman for Mr. Kim said. "This military reshuffle will be the last to close an old era."

Mr. Kim named the chief of the air force, Lee Yang Ho, as chairman of the joint chiefs, replacing Lee Pil Sup, who had been due to end his two-year term this December.

"It is the first time in our military

## Truce Is Broken In Afghan Capital

Reuters

KABUL — Artillery fire and gunshots broke an informal cease-fire in the Afghan capital Monday, and government troops and their guerrilla opponents said they were ready for more fighting.

Heavy machine-gun fire rattled through the western suburbs and roads were swamped by civilians on the second day of an unofficial truce aimed at ending nearly two weeks of fighting that has killed more than 1,000 people and injured 5,500.

Most guns had remained silent in Kabul on Sunday, three days after the leaders of the nine main factions called a nationwide cease-fire and announced a new cabinet. But in a southwestern suburb, residents said rockets fired from the government-controlled Television Mountain had killed two women working in a small bakery.

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**Euro Disney** RESORT-PARIS

OPINION

INTERNATIONAL **Herald Tribune**

Published in the New York Times and The Washington Post

**Better Than Nothing**

After rejecting President Bill Clinton's plan to help the Bosnian government defend itself, Britain, France, Russia and Spain have won U.S. agreement to a less ambitious proposal. The new plan, if it can be implemented, is less than adequate but better than nothing.

The plan would station some 15,000 European and Canadian troops under a United Nations flag to deter Bosnian Serb attacks against six UN-designated safe havens. They would concentrate outside forces where they are most needed — in the beleaguered cities of Sarajevo, Bihać, Gorazde, Srebrenica, Tuzla and Zepa. These are now home to 1.2 million Bosnian Muslims, roughly two-thirds of the surviving Muslim population.

The bulk of the 15,000 would be drawn from the 3,500 UN troops already stationed in Bosnia for humanitarian relief. U.S. air power would be available to defend these international forces, but not to defend the Bosnians themselves.

Essentially, the United States and the Europeans have agreed on the lowest common denominator of their differently conceived approaches. The United States has given up, at least for now, its idea of arming the Bosnian government, because of European objections. Meanwhile, Britain and France have pulled back from the Vance-Owen peace plan, because Mr. Clinton rightly re-

frused to supply the massive ground troops that would be needed if the Bosnian combatants failed to honor the plan.

But there is some doubt whether the safe havens plan can even be put into effect. UN Security Council endorsement is probable, but Bosnia's government has already denounced the proposal as freezing an unacceptable situation and failing to protect Bosnian civilians. Bosnian Serb leaders accept that freezing, but still refuse to withdraw their troops encircling the cities.

European architects assume, without any good reason, that President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia can and will compel Bosnian Serb forces to withdraw to the areas assigned them under Vance-Owen. If he cannot, far more than 15,000 UN troops may be needed.

Mr. Clinton's original idea, backed by the threat of bombing selected Serbian targets, would have let the Bosnians provide the needed ground troops. Europe decisively rebuffed that proposal, and Mr. Clinton wisely chose not to proceed without their support.

The allies' new position recognizes the reality that none of them is prepared to contest the Serbs on the battlefield. For the 1.2 million Bosnians under steady attack in the six refugee-swollen cities, the plan provides hope of limited relief. Sadly, that may be all that can be salvaged at this point.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

**Back Down to Earth**

The Strategic Defense Initiative has finally been brought down to earth, where it belongs. In 10 years and \$32 billion after President Ronald Reagan first dreamed up the space-based anti-missile shield, the Pentagon will now concentrate on developing ground-based anti-ballistic missiles to protect U.S. forces in the field and citizens in the continental United States against limited missile attacks.

The change is more symbolic than substantive. Congress had already begun the reorientation. And the Clinton administration is keeping 1994 spending at this year's lavish \$3.8 billion. That is sure to rise as the program moves from research to prototypes.

The Pentagon wants to spend \$1.2 billion next year on defenses to counter missile attacks on the battlefield. The televised performance of Patriot missiles during the Gulf War boosted congressional interest in such defenses, but the Patriot's success was grossly exaggerated. Now the Pentagon is developing no fewer than four new, improv-

ed anti-missile systems for battlefield use.

Even more doubtful is the \$1.2 billion to be spent developing continental defenses against an unauthorized launch by a maverick Russian general or a limited attack by a nuclear renegade state. Continued research on such continental defenses makes sense, but there is no need to rush their development or deployment. Intelligence officials have testified that they "do not believe there is a concern about unauthorized launch" by Russia or the other ex-Soviet nuclear republics. And they foresee no renegade state capable of building nuclear warheads and the missiles needed to deliver them "for at least another decade."

Noting the gap between words and real cuts, the Senate Budget Committee chairman, Jim Sasser, rightly questioned whether the Pentagon, by downgrading the program and changing its name, is not just hiding the Strategic Defense Initiative by "the equivalent of the witness protection program."

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

**Somebody Has to Pay**

Critics complain that Bill Clinton's plan for reducing the deficit relies too much on tax increases and not enough on spending cuts. Spending cuts are put forward as the rugged and virtuous approach, tax increases as somehow profligate. But the line between the two is not as bright as the critics describe.

The bulk of the cuts that the leading critics currently propose would not be outright cuts at all in the sense of canceling undertakings that would otherwise occur; they would mainly shift from the federal government to other payers in the society costs that would continue to be incurred.

Nor are even all the outright cuts that they propose as different from tax increases as the rhetoric suggests. That is so in part because the critics are mainly urging entitlement cuts. In politics, the amounts the government collects from citizens as taxes and the amounts the check-writing programs send back out in the form of benefits are considered separately. But economists rightly think of them much more as a single tax-and-transfer system in which checks are constantly coming in and going out, often from and to the same families, the government all the while gently redistributing income in the society.

The symbolic argument between the president and his critics pits taxes versus spending. The substantive argument is much narrower. It has to do with changes in the workings of this income churn and with the most ancient and fundamental of political issues, who wins and who loses. The president's entire plan would increase federal taxes by about 5 percent when fully effective; that is what all the shouting is about. The leading alternative, proposed by Senator David Boren and others, would divert about half that, the great philosophical battle boils down to about 2½ percentage points. Mr. Boren, from the oil state of Oklahoma, seeks mainly to block the president's proposed energy tax and his increase in the Medicare tax for the better-off. To make up the revenues, he proposes spending cuts.

Some would indeed be outright cuts, and not minor ones, either. A lot of people think that too much federal spending is indexed. Mr. Boren would break the pattern and begin giving Social Security recipients and federal annuitants 2 percentage points less each year than the full cost-of-living increases to which they are accustomed now (although a minimum amount of each month's benefit would continue to be fully indexed to protect the poor). It is a bold idea, but it would go about the business of cutting Social Security costs — if that is the objective — in precisely the wrong way. The older you get and the greater your likely need, the less in real terms your benefit would be.

The senator and friends would also deny three-fourths of the increase that the president proposed in the earned-income tax credit that supplements the wages of the

working poor. The president says that for reducing a full-time, year-round worker should live in poverty in America. That is what the increased credit is designed to help achieve, and it is the goal that Senator Boren would shelve.

The other proposed cuts are mostly in Medicare and Medicaid. They are not gimmicks in the sense of being fake. Some are worthy ideas, and they would indeed reduce the deficit — but mainly by shifting costs back to a lot of the very people the senators profess to be protecting against tax increases. Medicare beneficiaries, the privately insured and state taxpayers all would likely pay more so that federal taxpayers could pay less. The same thing is true of some of the health care spending cuts in President Clinton's own plan. To cut federal health care spending without having in place the kind of overall health care reform plan on which the president is at work is a little like punching a pillow; the dent you make in one place leads to a bulge in another.

Mr. Boren says the energy tax would be regressive. His own proposals would be even more so. He says to an older citizen, for example, we'll save you from the energy tax — and cut your Social Security benefits while raising your share of your health care costs and perhaps driving up your state taxes instead. No doubt the citizen is grateful.

The president proposes what his successors deferred too long; he would move against the deficit. Mr. Boren agrees. The only questions then are who will pay and at what window. Tax increases versus spending cuts is at once too simple and too complicated. You pay more when your parent goes to the nursing home, or you pay more for the doctor's office or at the gasoline pump — or you pay more on April 15. You still pay. For too long we Americans didn't pay and put it on the credit card, which is the problem.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

**Other Comment**

**Cynical Expediency Fails**

The relief in Western capitals is as palpable as it will be short-lived. Ministers believe that after weeks of embarrassed incoherence, they have steered policy on Bosnia into a safe haven. Bosnians will have no such haven, nor was that the real aim of this cobbled agreement. The politicians were out to save diplomatic face, not Bosnian lives. Even by that shaming yardstick, this cynical embrace of expediency fails. Truth would at least acknowledge that the West's simulacrum of a Balkan policy has been led by domestic opinion polls, and so led because there is no will to face the larger questions of managing security in Europe.

— The Times (London).

**For America in Europe, the End of an Era**

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — "It's the end of an era," a veteran diplomat said — "the era of American leadership and power in Europe." He was commenting on President Bill Clinton's acceptance of the European plan to set up "safe havens" for Muslims in Bosnia.

Just two weeks ago on his European tour, Secretary of State Warren Christopher rejected the safe haven idea. It would confine 1.2 million Muslims to the equivalent of ghettos, he said, and effectively ratify Serbian conquests elsewhere in Bosnia. Now Mr. Christopher said the United States was agreeing to the idea because Russia, Britain, France and Spain wanted it. President Clinton said, "At least we're together again."

Will the plan do any good? It does at least purport to protect six enclaves from Serbian shelling and sniper fire. But how effective that will be depends on some big ifs.

First, the United Nations force now in Bosnia operates under restrictive rules of engagement. Soldiers cannot fire to protect Bosnians. The hope is that their mere presence in an area would persuade the Serbs to respect its safety. Can anyone be confident of that after all the promises the Serbs have broken?

A crucial question, therefore, is what the rules of engagement will be for the enlarged UN force, envisaged by the new plan. To be meaningful, the rules would have to allow the force to respond to attacks on designated safe areas.

Second, Mr. Clinton promised to provide U.S. air power — but only to protect UN forces "in the event they are attacked." But a direct attack on UN troops is unlikely. The need is for air response to shelling of the safe areas.

Here again the rules of engagement are important. If they allow the UN force to respond to Serbian shelling of safe havens, then U.S. planes defending the force would be useful in silencing the Serbian guns.

Third, one of the most appalling problems for the UN force has been the difficulty in getting relief supplies through to Muslim enclaves. Serbian commanders routinely block convoys, seize goods and money and generally make ground routes so unreliable that food aid drops started by President Clinton have been necessary.

Even Henry Kissinger, who has opposed U.S. military involvement, said last week that force

should be used if necessary to stop the Serbian holdups and get relief supplies through. But the allies' communiqué on the new plan tamenously says they "will insist that all parties allow humanitarian aid to pass without hindrance."

Fourth, another critical element is sealing the border with Serbia, which has supplied the Bosnian Serb militia. President Slobodan Milosevic promised to stop the traffic — but that was when he feared U.S. intervention. Supplies are still flowing. On this issue, too, the allied communiqué was weak. It said the allies relied on Serbia to keep the border closed, adding merely that "we can assist, for instance by placing monitors on the border." But Mr. Milosevic, who had offered to allow international monitors, withdrew the offer.

Serbs greeted the allied plan as victory, not concealing their contempt. Serbian forces went on shelling Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. The Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, said he would respect the safe havens — if the allies

accepted the Serbs' "sovereignty" in areas of Bosnia they have seized.

In short, the allied plan looks like a fig leaf to conceal the effective acceptance of Serbian conquests. It looks like a new way for politicians to say they are doing something about a tragedy that they have done little or nothing to stop.

Effective measures are very difficult after all the past dithering by European and American governments. But the precedent of inaction in the face of "ethnic cleansing" will hang over us. Other demagogues are ready to arouse religious and racial passions in many parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

And America's role in Europe will not be the same. Why would Europeans look across the Atlantic for leadership to a government that does not know what it wants?

What credibility can NATO have after a failure to stop crimes against humanity in its own backyard? Will Americans continue to support a massive commitment of U.S. troops to Europe? An era is ending.

The New York Times.



**In Canada's View, We Are Our Brother's Keeper**

By Brian Mulroney

The writer is prime minister of Canada.

LONDON — Bosnia is clearly at the center of the global agenda. To the world's free press, choices there are more than an understatement. I do not pretend to know all the answers, but some lessons are clear.

First, as in the case of preventive medicine, preventive diplomacy is likely to be much cheaper and much better than trying to stop wars after they have started.

The world's inactivity on Bosnia cannot be attributed to surprise. It was a common observation at the time that if the war in Croatia were to spread to Bosnia, the carnage would be much worse. It did, and it is. Nor can the world pretend ignorance. The Bosnian bloodshed has been the lead story on the nightly newscasts for months.

Canadians take some modest solace from the fact that we publicly called for UN intervention in September 1991 — almost two years ago — and that the first battalion into Sarajevo on behalf of the United Nations at about this time last year was Canadian. But, overall, it has to be admitted that the international diplomatic response has been inadequate at every stage, starting even before the former Yugoslavia began to disintegrate.

Bosnia is necessarily the current focus, but the relationship between Croatia and Serbia remains highly volatile and the danger of renewed conflict between them is very real. And we should have little doubt that the war in Bosnia will simply

contain itself; the risks of fighting spreading to Kosovo and Macedonia are too real to leave to fate.

If fighting breaks out in those places, no one can be sure where it will end and what damage it will cause — to the people trapped in its way, to Russia's fledgling democracy, to the integrity of NATO, to relations between Muslim and Christian countries. We have every interest in preventing this conflict from spreading.

The second lesson of the Bosnian conflict is an old one, learned again the hard way: Diplomacy without a credible threat of force — or, in the case of Bosnia, counterforce — is likely to be unavailing.

Since this conflict began, the world has incrementally taken steps to try to pressure the belligerents to come to their senses. But, in hindsight, it is clear that naval forces in the Adriatic and "no-fly zones" have not had the desired effect.

The world can either step up the pressure to bring the killing to an end in full knowledge of the dangers, or it can content itself with assisting the afflicted and accepting the view that these conflicts have been going on in the Balkans for a millennium. The latter view would be a misreading of both our values and our interests. It would be a prescription for widening the con-

flict in the Balkans and an invitation to trouble elsewhere.

A related lesson is that, for the foreseeable future, U.S. participation in major international security problems is a prerequisite for success.

Canadians and the Canadian government have believed from the beginning that action might have to be taken to end the slaughter of innocent third parties. We urgently committed ground troops to the UN peacekeeping mission. While Canada is firmly committed to the concept of UN peacekeeping and we understand its value, we have always been conscious of its limitations. In Bosnia, it has been clear from the outset that increasing the pressure might have to be contemplated.

To end the intolerable brutality in Bosnia, the international community now has a series of nonmilitary and military options. These include creating and consolidating more safe havens, sealing Serbia's borders, lifting the arms embargo and carrying out enforcement action.

Canada's position has been that we will support an effective international consensus to deal with Bosnia if it meets two reasonable preconditions. The first is that nothing should be done that would excessively prejudice the safety of peacekeepers and unarmed civilians. The second is that any proposal for ac-

**Beijing Should Be Told to Play by the Trade Rules**

By Philip Bowring

HONG KONG — The debate in Washington over renewal of most-favored-nation status for China is exposing the contradictions inherent in the "special relationship" that the United States has accorded to China for the past decade. It also exposes the hypocrisy of Hong Kong.

Bill Clinton and his assistant secretary of state for Asia, Winston Lord, want to do the right thing — impose conditions on China — but for muddled and mostly wrong reasons.

On the face of things, issues of human rights and weapons sales should have no place in discussions about a trade issue. World trade growth would have stagnated long ago if the United States and its allies had applied such principles to trade with other nations. Why have President Clinton and Mr. Lord put human rights at the top of the most-favored-nation conditions agenda?

One answer seems to lie in the often admirable but equally often misplaced missionary zeal that Americans have long brought to China, whether promoting Christianity and open markets or crusading against communism. There is a moral duty to use U.S. influence not for selfish national interests but to spread ideals of liberty and democracy. It is this same zeal that converted erstwhile Communists to capitalism that led to the extraordinarily indulgent attitude that the United States has shown China.

Whether through bilateral trade, through the World Bank or, recently, by allowing a Chinese company to list on the New York Stock Exchange, the United States has given China myriad opportunities that it could scarcely have expected.

It is remarkably that a regime that espouses a "socialist market economy" and abides by few of the accepted trading principles of the industrialized world has been allowed to build up a \$18 billion-a-year trade surplus with the guardian of open markets.

The lack of reciprocity in China's trade is astonishing. The United States now takes 30 percent of China's exports and a much higher percentage of the light industrial products that have been at the heart of China's export boom. Even more remarkable is the fact that American imports from China exceed exports

to it by a ratio of 2.5 to 1. The gap may close a bit this year, but the United States will remain the key to China's export-led growth.

The Chinese may claim that this is no more their fault than is the failure of the United States to close its trade gap with Japan. The rise in China's exports owes little to Beijing's efforts and almost everything to those of industrialists from Hong Kong, Taiwan and elsewhere who brought their manufacturing and marketing skills to China because labor was cheap and taxes minimal.

But the fact is that China has been grabbing market share in the United States and in other markets not just to the disadvantage of the U.S. balance of trade but, more important in the long run, to those other developing nations that abide by most GATT principles. China's exports to the United States are still growing at about 20 percent, despite a weak U.S. market. This indicates a further leap forward in China's market share.

The United States and the World Bank, its multilateral handmaiden, have forced all kinds of market-opening measures down the throats of countries like India, Indonesia and Mexico. In principle, these are beneficial and spur both export and import growth. But these countries, which generally have good records for playing by international rules, now find their own export opportunities frustrated by China, which does not have such a record.

China's economy has grown more open in the past decade, and America can take some credit for that. But it is still filled with administrative controls on imports as well as high tariffs. China blatantly uses trade deals as a political weapon. It engages in a deliberate policy of competitive devaluation to gain market share. That policy has in practice been exacerbated by the lack of control on monetary growth, which has led to a huge gap between official and unofficial rates — the opposite of what was supposed to happen under the reform program.

China made various promises in October to avoid action under Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act. But action on these promises has been

evidence that China's predatory exchange-rate policy is undercutting export prices for products from tin to toys. Even if East Asia is benefiting, there is no reason it should be favored at the expense of other regions.

As for Hong Kong, it is demanding that Washington not raise export conditions on China's trade status because Hong Kong would get hurt. No one asked Hong Kong to shift its factories to southern China to exploit cheap labor rather than going to free-market countries in the region or producing higher value-added products locally.

If Hong Kong trade is now so beholden to China, it has no one to blame but itself. Hong Kong seems to expect the world to allow it dual standards as well as dual passports: enjoying the advantages of belonging to a world trade system and being part of China but facing none of the disadvantages, and expecting others to stand up for its liberties when the local elite will not, for fear of offending China or hurting its pocket.

International Herald Tribune.

**IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO**

**1893: The Royal Scaffold**

LONDON — The supposition that Charles I. walked to the scaffold from the middle window of the banqueting house in Whitehall received apparent confirmation from a discovery just made by the workmen who are altering the building. At the place indicated, the fourth window from Charing Cross, they came up on some unpointed stone, behind which were found sawdust and chips of wood and other tokens of the erection of a scaffold. There were no such remains at any of the other windows.

**1943: Floods in Germany**

LONDON — Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler has believed thousands of workers from Holland and other occupied countries to help reconstruct the flooding of the Rhine and Eder Dams, the Netherlands News Agency said tonight (May 24). More than 1,000 laborers were sent to Keesel alone. Quoting Moscow radio reports from the German frontier, the agency said storm troopers were conducting the workers to the flooded areas to prevent their escaping. A flight lieutenant who was on the record-breaking raid against Dortmund reported he saw great stretches of flood water in the area.

**1918: German Hunger**

WASHINGTON — A high official, questioned as to why the German Government has made known to the Washington authorities that the food position is desperate in Germany, said: "Germany, having tried to starve England, and not having succeeded, is appealing to the sympathy of humanity and proposes a dishon-

est and unjust peace." The picture of seventy million inhabitants dying slowly of hunger "is made to excite our sympathy. If it is a fact that the German people is menaced with famine we need not trouble ourselves, for it is a just punishment."

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OPINION

Scalpgate and Travelgate: Clinton's Most Costly Trim

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — As the white flag of surrender flutters over the White House, the main concern inside is not with the weakness of Christopher of Foggy Bottom but with the ridicule generated by \$200 presidential haircuts from Christopher of Beverly Hills.

But reporters stuck on tarmacs waiting for late charter flights will scratch away at Scalpgate.

decisions on Balkan and health policy and forced instead to measure voter dismay over "Hair Force One."

President Clinton was so carried away by the need to enhance his appearance that he was oblivious to appearances. People read a certain arrogance into a president's willingness to tie up an international airport for 45 minutes while Christophe does his pricey rinse-clip-and-set.

But reporters stuck on tarmacs waiting for late charter flights will scratch away at Scalpgate: Where is the contract for Christophe's "family services"? Has he been paid yet, and how much? Does Christophe include his expense of traveling to meet the Clintons, or does he absorb that and reduce his usual fee in return for the publicity? If so, is he making a valuable gift to the Clintons — as dress designers did to Nancy Reagan — which must catch the interest of the Internal Revenue Service.

That reference to press flights brings letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

to the amalgam of Hollywood cronyism, "distant" nepotism, the old spoils system operating under a new self-righteousness, and an unremarked abuse of the Justice Department — all quickly dubbed "Travelgate."

Harry Thompson, a Hollywood pal of the Clintons who produced the inaugural extravaganza, wanted part of his payoff in the form of a shot at the White House travel business. Bill's Cousin Cathy made a pitch to replace the seven longtime employees with Clintonites who would recognize the magic Thompson name. To provide a cover for this divvying of the election spoils, an accounting firm was hired to nail the old-timers for past sloppiness.

That's politics; there is no job security in the White House. But when the press turned up Cousin Cathy and her friends, somebody in the White House made an improper call to somebody at the Justice Department. We should find out who — maybe the de facto attorney general, Webster Hubbell, Hillary's law partner; perhaps FBI Director William Sessions, who seems ready to do anything for the White House to save his job.

Within hours of the White House demand, an extraordinary FBI statement was issued — on Justice Department stationery — that there was "sufficient information for the FBI to determine that additional criminal investigation is warranted."

Don't just kick 'em out — kill 'em. That was an abuse of power. White House pressure to prosecute is now heavy, but the presumption of innocence has not been repealed.

If the accountant's report suggested any crime, it should have been promptly given to the FBI; employees should have been given their rights, informed of the charges and given a chance to respond. Instead, seven people with families were not only canned, but their reputations were blackened and chances to get another job removed by a politically motivated FBI press release. Why? To provide a law-enforcement cover for an embarrassing display of raw patronage.

Bill Clinton may get away with this riding-roughshod over civil liberty; he may even get away with the vastly greater error of abandoning the suffering Bosnians. But there is some poetic justice in the way he will pay for trying to swagger through his presidency with \$200 haircuts from Christophe of Beverly Hills.

The New York Times



That's it, Bill — always let him know who's in charge.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

What East Europe Lacks

Regarding "Reform Has Won in Russia" by Jeffrey D. Sachs and "In Poland, Reform Has Meant Pain and Division" by Konstanty Gubern (Opinion, May 5):

What China has had that Russia and Eastern Europe do not have is a large influx of private foreign capital from ethnic Chinese entrepreneurs in Hong Kong and Taiwan who are taking advantage of China's abundant cheap labor and working conditions to establish manufacturing bases for exports.

Hong Kong keeps 3 million people employed in Guangdong Province (three times its own working population). And the recent talks in Singapore between representatives of Taiwan and China set unofficial estimates for Taiwan investment in China (mainly in the southeast) at \$5 billion to \$10 billion. What foreign businesses are investing that much in Poland?

Capitalism is driven by private capital, not by government-to-government aid. If sooner or later no one from the private sector in the West or Asia invests in Russia and Eastern Europe, then those places will be doomed to continued hardship and economic stasis.

JOSH DAVIS, Taipei.

A Hollow Victory?

Senator Bob Dole's apparent victory over Bill Clinton on the emergency spending bill was in fact a grave blow to the unemployed. The inner cities are smoldering and need help quickly. This money would have helped some of them. I would like to ask Mr. Dole a question: If your son had suffered for 12 years

under Reaganomics, would you have acted in the same manner?

PETER G. KOTSONIS, New York.

Voting in Italy

Why propose either proportional representation or a simple majority voting system for Italy? Going from one extreme to the other merely exchanges one excess for another. Because of Britain's first-past-the-post system, to which Italy seems headed, the British are governed by a party that long ago lost its mandate to rule. One must ask, is Italy making progress or is it merely changing?

I would like to suggest a compromise for Italy: a system of limited proportional representation in which a party must receive at least 12.5 percent of the vote — one vote in eight — to be represented in parliament. In this way, single-issue and other fringe parties are prevented from choking the system, and yet people need not feel excluded from the process just because they constitute a small minority.

CHRISTOPHER J. HUGHEY, Bergen, Norway.

No Sexist Conspiracy

Regarding "Lots of Feisty Feminist Thought in Silly Books" (Meanwhile, April 28) by Katherine Knorr:

Something that has needed saying for a long time is Katherine Knorr's trenchant comment: "Sexual harassment is real, but most of what is called sexual harassment isn't." What in the past would normally have been seen as a pleasant effort to get acquainted is now interpreted by deluded extremists as assault.

KEITH L. LOSTAGLIO, London.

Between Valley and Sky, Halfway Up a Swiss Wall

By Hans Koning

LOCARNO, Switzerland — Some 20 years ago I lived awhile in an old stone house in a Swiss valley. I've come back to it and found neither the little town it is part of, nor the landscape, much changed. A pleasant surprise this, because the region is certainly a tourist target. But the laws of Switzerland are now very protective and, more to the point, mountains are clearly the best protection that nature can provide for itself against humanity's restlessness. I'm not going to hold forth about that: This is about my valley.

The valley is in the Ticino, the Swiss canton that looks out onto the great lakes, the Lago Maggiore and Lago di Lugano,

MEANWHILE

and beyond them to the plains of northern Italy. As it descends from west to east, it opens up and ends up cradling Locarno. How beautiful those lake towns are! The diplomats of prewar Europe didn't do too well keeping the peace but they surely knew how to pick the locations for their summit conferences — Locarno, Como, Seregno. My little town is 18 miles (30 kilometers) to the northwest of Locarno and 2,400 feet (730 meters) above it. The road passing the old stone house (above roof level) is the only valley road, and it climbs on to the last Swiss town, Spruga, from where it narrows to a track that crosses the Italian border and then dwindles to nothing.

The road runs along the north wall of the mountains. The south wall has no road, only paths, with a sporadic farm as lost, looking as the hut of Robinson Crusoe, and with a couple of chapels with no discernible access: They were built precisely on the most unthinkable spots to give proof of the faith of their builders.

On the valley floor, way, way down, runs the river, a bed of stones and boulders with a small stream that every so often becomes a flash flood. Sometimes I can hear it in the silence of the night, but I cannot see it. It would be a climb down that is beyond me. The road, then, divides the mountain in two parts — one above me, one below me. The road is really like one long, thin, step along a slope of some 70 degrees, but it doesn't give even a lowlander like me a dizzy spell. On the contrary, it gives an exhilarating sense of space, of freedom to breathe.

My explanation is that the mountain wall above you defines your share of sky, so to speak. It is as if you had staked out a claim right above your head. Walking along with so much rock wall below you and so much above you, gives you (cliché as it may sound) a sense of flying. Nineteenth-century illustrators — Daumier, for instance, and Riou, who did Jules Verne — were great in getting across this illusion of being lost in space — even better than present-day photographs.

For those of us who feel that cars and asphalt make for too much civilization, there is always the other side of the valley, where the landscape calendar is a century behind. At times I see a farmer there with a basket of hay on his back, climbing a seemingly vertical path. There a farmer can indeed fall out of his field. But these people are no longer poor, and on my road, mules have given way to Toyotas.

But the finest thing on the road are the autopostali. They are the mail buses that connect the communities, the motorized versions of the famous Swiss post coaches of old. Their positions used to sow terror in the hearts of oncoming travelers, for when they blew their three-tone horns, all other vehicles had to give way. In a blind curve, the post coach hugged the mountainside, while the other vehicle had to take its chances.

Such is still the rule, in essence. The autopostale horn, pressed by foot (for the driver has his hands full), still gives that same signal and it still commands priority. But if an oncoming driver should lose his or her cool and not dare pass, the postale driver will put on his automatically locking hand brake and drive the other car past for its owner. I hate the noise of car horns as much as anyone, but there is something majestic about that signal, a sense of power and security. I was told it was borrowed, from the "Guillaume Tell" overture, but I think it more likely that the postillon came first and that Rossini borrowed these haunting notes from his horn.

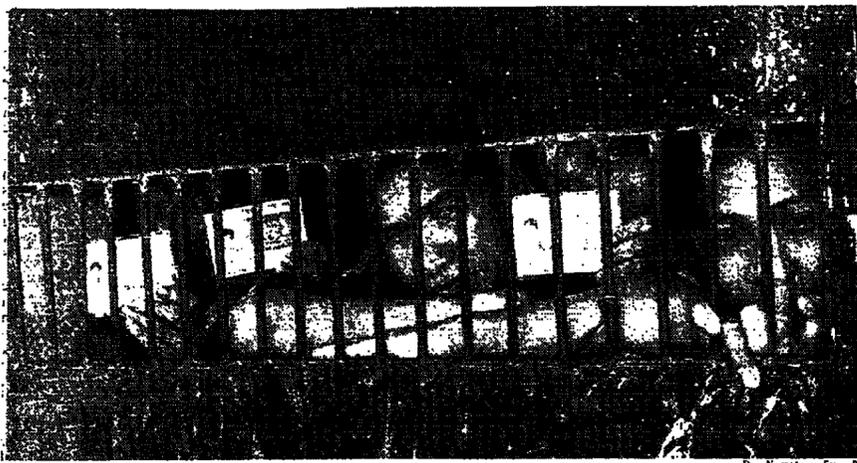
Of course, those buses run true to the minute; their drivers would be ashamed to do otherwise. They stop at each community's post office along the road, where the driver picks up and drops off the mail. In most places, no one can pass while this goes on, but there is no audible impatience. How could there be — this is the essence of valley life. Almost every man or woman on the road seems to know the drivers and exchange greetings. I've seen a man simply stick an express letter under the autopostale windshield wiper as it stood at its platform across from the Locarno train station.

That kind of thing is one of the blessings of all life in small regions and close communities. But here I also find a taste of the shared dangers of the mountains, even now, when helicopters have taken the place of Saint Bernard dogs with brandy kegs. Last week a car went through the guardrail in the middle of the night and fell some 600 feet before being stopped by the trees. At dawn someone saw the gap, and the local doctor, who is always on call, was lowered to the car in a net. He is used to that, too. "Those railings are just decoration," he told me. He found the driver still alive, and a helicopter took the man to Locarno, where they say he has a good chance of surviving.

International Herald Tribune

A NAFTA But With Europe

Singapore Girl. All around the world.



Inmates showing voting cards Monday at a Phnom Penh prison known as T3, said to have held hundreds of political prisoners for years.

# Cambodian Turnout Defies Guerrillas

By William Branigin

Washington Post Staff Writer

PHNOM PENH — Khmer Rouge guerrillas and peasants in rebel-held zones trekked to polling stations throughout Cambodia on Monday to vote in an election organized by the United Nations, as the radical Khmer Rouge's threats to sabotage the balloting appeared to dissolve in disarray.

At the end of the second of six scheduled days of voting, UN officials said the turnout was approaching 70 percent of the 4.7 million registered voters.

The turnout represented not only a show of enthusiasm for Cambodia's first free multiparty election in 43 years but also a massive repudiation of the Khmer Rouge's call for a boycott on the ground that the election was aimed at legitimizing the government in Phnom Penh that had been installed by Vietnam, displacing the Khmer Rouge, in the late 1970s.

Voters are choosing a 120-seat constituent assembly that will be asked to write a constitution for the country under a 1991 UN peace plan. The assembly then is to convert itself into a legislature as the basis for a new government.

The Phnom Penh administration of Prime Minister Hun Sen has predicted a landslide victory, but the turnout suggests a strong opposition showing.

Opposition leaders hope to be able to form a coalition headed by the royalist United National Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Cooperative Cambodia, which advocates giving strong executive powers to Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

In a speech to Buddhist monks and nuns, the 70-year-old former monarch and current nominal head of state appealed to the Khmer Rouge to abandon violence and "follow the path of the Lord Buddha."

The Khmer Rouge, blamed for more than a million deaths during a reign of terror in the late 1970s, halted a 13-year guerrilla war when it signed the 1991 peace plan but has since reneged on the accord and resumed fighting.

In scattered Khmer Rouge efforts to disrupt the voting, at least one Cambodian in Kompong Cham Province was killed when several mortar rounds forced the closing of local polling stations. But on the whole, voting continued amid relative calm, and there were signs of disunity in Khmer Rouge ranks over the leadership's stated opposition to the election.

apparent change of heart by some guerrillas, especially in an area in which suspected Khmer Rouge gunners had shelled a polling place only the day before.

According to Reginald Austin, a professor from Zimbabwe who heads the electoral unit of the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia, peasants in Khmer Rouge-held zones in northern Cambodia trekked as much as 30 kilometers miles to reach polling places to vote.

The Khmer Rouge last year allowed voter registration in some areas it controlled but later confiscated many inhabitants' registration cards. Even so, Mr. Austin said, Cambodians whose cards had been lost or confiscated still could vote through a system of "tendered ballots," in which eligibility can be checked later against computerized records.

He said there were indications that the Khmer Rouge had even returned some people's cards so that they could vote normally. "The situation is really remarkable and very fortunate," he said.

As the election campaign heated up in recent weeks, Khmer Rouge guerrillas in different parts of the country attacked UN peacekeepers and installations several times, spread leaflets threatening harm to Cambodians who voted and broadcast fierce propaganda against the election.

Why the Khmer Rouge has not made good its threats remains shrouded in the group's penchant for secrecy. Analysts theorize that the guerrillas may not be strong enough to do more than they have done, or that some leaders recognized the unpopularity of their anti-election position.

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# 4 Israel Troops Slain and 3 Wounded By 'Friendly Fire' in South Lebanon

The Associated Press

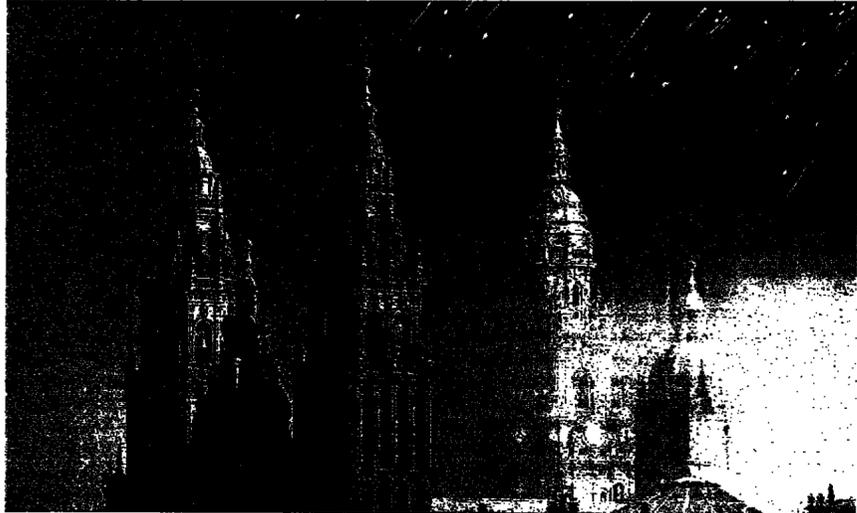
JERUSALEM — Two squads of Israeli paratroopers mistakenly fired on one other in southern Lebanon on Monday, killing four soldiers and wounding three, the army said.

The gunbattle broke out in the central sector of Israel's self-declared security zone in southern Lebanon, an army announcement said. The army said the soldiers were carrying out an operation, and "as a result of a misunderstanding" in the field, "both forces exchanged

fire that cause the injuries." It said the shooting was under investigation.

The incident was the worst army blunder since five soldiers were killed by a misfired missile during a training exercise Nov. 5 in the southern Negev.

Israeli radio reports said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the army chief of staff, Lieutenant General Ehud Barak, went to the army's Northern Command to hear first reports from soldiers in the field. Mr. Rabin also is defense minister.



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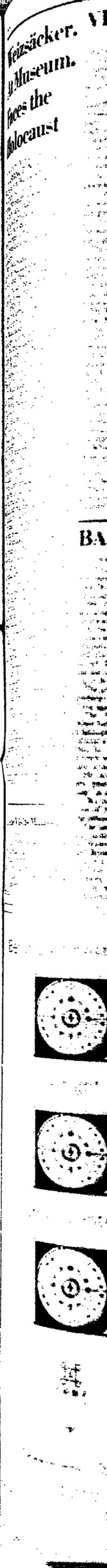
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# VISION: Embracing Politics of Doing Good, Hillary Rodham Clinton Is Seeking a National Renewal and a New American Way

## Weizsäcker, At Museum, Faces the Holocaust

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

**WASHINGTON** — President Richard von Weizsäcker of Germany, after visiting the Holocaust Memorial Museum here, declared that violence and racism would not again gain ground in Germany.

"Who has seen this museum will never forget it in his life," the German president said as he left the museum.

Mr. Weizsäcker told the B'nai B'rith on Sunday evening that he hoped the Jewish organization would one day be as large in Germany as it was before World War II. In 1928, B'nai B'rith had 103 lodges in Germany, he said.

"We are not living in the '30s," Mr. Weizsäcker said in the prepared text of a lecture, adding: "At that time the weakness of the democrats allowed the Nazis to gain power. Today, our society stands up against violence and racism. They will not gain ground."

Mr. Weizsäcker, 73, was somber and spoke little on his 90-minute tour of the museum, which stands as testimony to Hitler's campaign against European Jews from the early 1930s until the end of the war.

Near the end of the tour, Mr. Weizsäcker visited the museum's Hall of Remembrance, where he stood silently before an eternal flame and lit a candle in memory of Holocaust victims.

In his later remarks, he referred to the Holocaust as "the single most heinous crime of the century: Mechanized murder, aimed at the annihilation of a whole people, and committed in the name of a civilized nation — Germany."

Mr. Weizsäcker's diplomat father served two years in prison after being convicted at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. Mr. Weizsäcker himself took part in the invasion of Poland as an infantry officer and was wounded several times on the Russian front.

Meanwhile, incidents of neo-Nazi violence continue. A young Jew was beaten by a gang of neo-Nazis who attacked him after he criticized their anti-Semitic jokes, the police said Monday. The 20-year-old man was taken to a hospital after the attack at a camp site in the Bavarian town of Leersessen.

He was beaten after angrily informing a group of youths telling the jokes that he was a Jew, the police added.

During raids near the town on the houses of six neo-Nazis, the police discovered a flag of the former German imperial navy, which has in recent years become a banner for the neo-Nazi movement in place of the outlawed swastika. The police added that they had found several portraits of Hitler.

*(AP, Reuters)*

(Continued from page 1)

the cynicism of the press and the corrupting role of television, the breakdown of civility and the loss of community.

The point of all this is not abstract or small. What Mrs. Clinton seems — in all apparent sincerity — to have in mind is leading the way to something on the order of a Reformation: the remaking of the American way of politics, government, indeed life. A lot of people, contemplating such a task, might fall prey to self-doubts. Mrs. Clinton does not blink.

"It's not going to be easy," she says. "But we can't get scared away from it because it is an overwhelming task."

The difficulty is bound to be increased by the awkward fact that a good deal of what Mrs. Clinton sees as wrong right now with the American way of life can be traced, at least in part, to the last great attempt to find The Answer: the liberal experiments in the reshaping of society that were the work of the intellectual elite of ... Mrs. Clinton's generation.

The crusade of Hillary Rodham Clinton began on April 7 in Austin, Texas. There, speaking from notes she had scribbled on the plane, she moved swiftly past the usual thanks and jokes to wade into an extraordinary speech: a passionate, at times slightly incoherent, call for national spiritual renewal.

The Western world, she said, needed to be made anew. America suffered from a "sleeping sickness of the soul," a "sense that something economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough — that we lack at some core level meaning in our individual lives and meaning collectively, that sense that our lives are part of some greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are."

She spoke of "cities that are filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns" as "the most visible signs of a nation crippled by 'alienation and despair and hopelessness,' a nation that was in the throes of a 'crisis of meaning.'"

"What do our governmental institutions mean? What do our lives in today's world mean?" she asked. "What does it mean in today's world to pursue not only vocations, to be part of institutions, but to be human?"

These questions, she said, led to the larger question, "Who will lead us out of this spiritual vacuum?" The answer to that was "all of us," all

required "to play our part in redefining what our lives are and what they should be."

"Let us be willing," she urged in conclusion, "to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century, moving into a new millennium."

It is easy to mock this sort of thing, and some people immediately did. What, asked The New Republic in a question the first lady finds to be a perfect, small example of the cynicism she deplores, was all that supposed to mean?

Mrs. Clinton has been groping toward a serious answer to that question for much of her life, reading her way from the Methodist founder John Wesley to Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, three left-of-center theologians who sought to link their religious beliefs to a critical involvement in politics and government, to, most recently, Michael Lerner, a liberal Jewish thinker who coined the phrase "politics of meaning," which Mrs. Clinton adopted in her Austin speech.

She gropes still. "I don't know; I don't know," she begins, when asked to define her philosophy. "I don't have any coherent explanation. I hope one day to be able to stop long enough actually to try to write down what I do mean, because it's important to me that I try to do that, because I have floated around the edges of this and talked about it for many, many years with a lot of people, but I've never regularly kept a journal or really tried to get myself organized enough to do it."

But she is well along in her musings. Working her way through a thicket of theories and ideologies, she offers in language that is a mix of Bible and Bill Moyers, of New Testament and New Age, a tentative definition of what she believes.

"The very core of what I believe is this concept of individual worth, which I think flows from all of us being creatures of God and being imbued with a spirit," she says. She speaks carefully, sitting upright and leaning slightly forward at a small table in a neat and modest White House garden.

"Some years ago, I gave a series of talks about the underlying principles of Methodism," she goes on. "I talked a lot about how timeless a lot of scriptural lessons were because they tied in with what we now know about human beings. If you break down the Golden Rule or if you take Christ's commandment — Love thy neighbor as thyself — there is an underlying assumption that you will value yourself, that you will be a responsible being who will live by certain behaviors that enable you to have self-respect, because, then, out

of that self-respect comes the capacity for you to respect and care for other people."

"And how do we just break this whole enterprise down in small enough pieces?" she said. "Well, somebody says to themselves: 'You know, I'm not going to tell that racist, sexist joke. I don't want to objectify another human being. Why do I want to do that? What do I get out of that kind of action? Maybe I should try to restrain myself.'"

"Or somebody else says: 'You know, I'm going to start thanking the woman who cleans the rest room in the building that I work in. You know, maybe that sounds kind of stupid, but on the other hand I want to start seeing her as a human being.'"

"And then maybe the next step is I say to myself: 'How much are we paying this woman who works the 3 to 11 shift? And who's taking care of

she said, "we have to first create a language that would better communicate what we are trying to say, and the policies would flow from that language."

The problem with the language goes right to the core of the question of what it all means. Is there one unifying idea that is at the heart of the politics of meaning?

"I don't think there is one core thing," Mrs. Clinton says. "I think this has to be thought through on a variety of planes. I don't think there is one unifying theory."

Meanwhile, words somewhat fail her. "It is like when you tell someone for the first time that you love them," she says. "You're not fully aware of what that means, but it's the best effort you can make to kind of convey the full range of emotions and feelings and intentions and expectations that you can articulate at the time."

But there actually is, as the mists of the New Age mysticism slip away, a hard core and a clear line to Mrs. Clinton's message. It is, fundamentally, an old and very American message, one that goes purposefully beyond the normal boundaries of politics, into the territory of religion. It is concerned not just with how government should behave, but how people should. It is the message of values, not programs. It is the message of the preacher, a role Hillary Rodham Clinton has filled many times, delivering guest sermons from the pulpits of United Methodist churches.

It seems odd at first to contemplate Mrs. Clinton in such terms. The public debate over her that swirled throughout the 1992 presidential race centered on two lesser questions — how leftist was she and how hungry for power — but failed to consider the larger point of her life.

In an election that Republicans failed to win on the strength of much the same sort of "values" issues that Mrs. Clinton now talks about, one thing the Democratic candidate's wife was not was a moralist.

The politics of Hillary Clinton are indeed largely liberal (although the postelection evidence indicates, no more so than those of her husband), but they are of a liberalism derived from religiosity. They combine a generally "progressive" social agenda with a strong dose of moralism, the admixture of the two driven by an abundant faith in the capacity of the human intellect and the redeeming power of love.

They are, rather than primarily the politics of left or right, the politics of doing good, flowing directly from a powerful and continual stream that

runs through American history, from Harriet Beecher Stowe to Jane Addams to Carry Nation to Dorothy Day: from the social gospel of the late 19th century to the temperance-minded Methodism of the early 20th century to the liberation theology of the 1960s and 1970s to the pacifist and multiculturalist correct religious left of today.

The true nature of her politics makes the ambition of Hillary Rodham Clinton much larger than merely personal. She clearly wants power, and has access to more of it than any first lady since Eleanor Roosevelt. But that ambition is merely a subcategory of the infinitely larger scope of her desires to make the world better, as she defines it better.

Hillary Rodham was born in 1947, into the world she wishes to restore, a place of security and community and clear moral values, to Hugh and Dorothy Rodham and raised in the solidly upper-class, solidly conservative Chicago suburb of Park Ridge, Illinois. Her childhood was, by all accounts including her own, grounded in the old-fashioned, uncomplicated absolutes of her parents' ethical code.

"My father was no great talker and not very articulate, and wouldn't have known Niebuhr from Bonhoeffer from Havel from Jefferson, and would have thought a conversation like this was just goofy," Mrs. Clinton said in an interview several weeks after her father's death on April 7. "But he gave me the basic tools, and it wasn't fancy philosophical stuff."

"He used to say all the time, 'I will always love you but I won't always like what you do,'" she said. "And, you know, as a child I would come up with 900 hypotheses. It would always end with something like, 'Well, you mean, if I murdered somebody and was in jail and you came to see me, you would still love me?'"

"And he would say: 'Absolutely! I will always love you, but I would be deeply disappointed and I would not like what you did because it would have been wrong.'"

The lesson Mrs. Clinton drew from this is one she says is at the core of her philosophy.

"It was so simplistic," she said, "but it was so helpful to me, because, I mean, it gave me the basis of unconditional love that I think every child deserves to have — and one of our problems is that too many of our children don't have that — but it also gave me from the very beginning a set of values based on what I did."

*Next: Lessons in the uses of power.*

### 'Let us be willing to remold society by redefining what it means to be a human being in the 20th century ...'

Hillary Rodham Clinton

her kids while she's here working? And how do we make it possible for her to be able to both be a good parent and perform a necessary function?"

"And these are little pieces, and a lot of those little pieces can be done on a very small scale that then aggregates. So I think what we're basically, what we're really looking at is, you know, millions and millions of changes in individual behavior that are motivated by the same impulses, even if we're not doing a very good job of describing them."

This rambling passage seems to validate The New Republic's impertinence. What does it all mean? It is, as it turns out, a fair question. The meaning of the politics of meaning is hard to discern under the wrappings of New Age language that blanket it. Mr. Lerner, who has been expounding on the subject for several years in the pages of *Tikkun*, a magazine of liberal Jewish thinking, has described the new politics as all about "how to build a society based on love and connection, a society in which the bottom line would not be profit and power but ethical and spiritual sensitivity and a sense of community, mutual caring and responsibility."

Mrs. Clinton says the right language remains to be invented. "As Michael Lerner and I discussed,

## BALKANS: Allies Defend Plan, Hinting at Action to Reverse Serb Gains

(Continued from page 1)

plan "pathetically weak," and a Labor member of Parliament, Malcolm Wicks, said the policy "adds up to appeasement."

Mr. Hogg responded, "We do not accept that aggression should be rewarded."

At the United Nations, 51 Islamic nations that have supported the Muslims in Serbia criticized the allied plan because it "appears to accept the status quo imposed by the use of force and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia."

The group urged lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia and using force against Serbian weapons.

The French foreign minister, Alain Juppé, met Monday with Mr. Christopher. Afterward, a French official who spoke on the condition that he not be named, said the French were "puzzled by the reaction of the press to the allied plan."

He said the plan was "a transitional step in the peace process."

"We think that some of the criticism of the plan is not justified," the official said.

The latest allied plan for Bosnia was unveiled Saturday by the United States, France, Russia, Spain and Britain. It calls for the insertion of a multinational peacekeeping force to protect Muslims in six or more "safe havens" in Bosnia. U.S. air power would be available to protect the UN forces.

The plan also calls for international monitors to be placed along the border between Serbia and Bosnia to ensure that Serbian war matériel does not enter Bosnia. It envisions the creation of a war crimes tribunal as well.

The French official said Paris still believed that the United States should commit ground troops to help police the safe areas. But he added that sending U.S. monitoring forces to Macedonia, which has not been confirmed by Washington, would serve as a "signal of U.S. commitment."

Aside from a brief comment over the weekend, President Bill Clinton has had nothing to say publicly about the policy.

However, the president's chief Republican critic, Senator Bob

Dole of Kansas, quickly commented, saying that the allied plan ratifies the status quo on the ground in Bosnia and writes Bosnia off.

Mr. Dole, joined by Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, an influential Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee, has sent a letter to Mr. Clinton that sharply criticized Europe, it was learned Monday.

The continuing war in Bosnia, he wrote, "can largely be attributed to the pursuit of half-measures on the part of the Europeans and the United Nations" as well as the UN-imposed arms embargo. The letter refers to Europe's "failed record" in the Balkans and suggests that inaction on Bosnia by the North American Treaty Organization might require the United

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*The Associated Press*

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# Domestic Energy Needs Growing

The Dead Sea may hold one of the keys to Jordan's future energy needs. Seismic surveys currently in progress suggest indications of oil at depths in excess of 6,000 meters (19,800 feet).

"We also have an on-shore exploratory well just to the east of the Dead Sea which is showing oil," says Ali Abu Al-Ragheb, minister of energy and mineral resources. He admits that the country's current oil production, about 22,000 barrels a day, "is hardly enough to supply our consumption for half a day."

But there have been encouraging natural gas finds, and proven reserves, of which about half are said to be recoverable, amount to 400 billion cubic feet. Jordan has to rely on expensive imports of oil from Iraq (in accordance with the UN proposals) which last year cost 326 million dinars (\$505.3 million), equivalent to 10 percent of the gross domestic product.

"Its cost is unparalleled," adds Mr. Al-Ragheb. For this reason, Jordan has to exploit every conceivable source of energy — oil, natural gas, oil shale, wind and solar power — to meet demand, which last year reached 3.8 million metric tons of oil equivalents, a 16 percent increase over 1991. "This was because of a marked rise in demand due to economic stability, a big increase in population and marked growth in industry, tourism and construction," the minister says.

Electricity consumption last year was 3,674 GWH, of which almost 30 percent was for pumping and desalinating water. By the year 2000, consumption is expected to reach 5,800 GWH. A program to improve the country's energy processing and distribution is to be completed by 1997 at a cost of around \$720 million. This includes building the second stage of the Aqaba Thermal Station.

Oil was first discovered in the Hamza Field in 1984, followed by natural gas in the Reisha Field two years later. Amoco, Hunt, Petrofina, Petrocanada, Japan Oil Company and Austrian OMF are some of the companies involved in production-sharing agreements for oil exploration within the country. Last year, Jordan signed with South Korea's Hanbo for a five-year drilling program.

One of the most significant developments in the future will be the formation of the country's first National Oil Company, which will be run on a commercial basis, with the directorate of petroleum at the Natural Resources Authority (NRA) acting as the core of the new company. New emphasis is also being put on renewable energy sources — wind and solar power. Four wind generators were erected in 1988 with an output capacity of 80 KW each, and the ministry is now seeking foreign investment to promote much larger wind farms.

M.F.

# A Commitment to Technology

Three-dimensional computer animation, interactive learning programs for bankers, snake-bite venom antidotes and fast-attack "beach buggies" for the military are just some of the projects being carried out by the Jordan Technology Group.

The Jordan Technology Group (JTG) is a private company established in 1988 to "commercialize" applied technology through joint ventures and venture capital; a special fund has been created to support the company's development.

"Originally, we were going for the big \$5 million

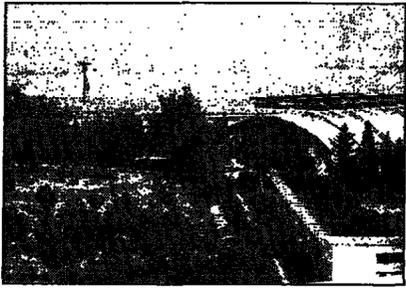
projects, but for the last two or three years we have been trying to promote smaller, locally inspired projects that we can use in the domestic or regional market," explains Laith Al-Qassem, JTG's chief executive officer.

JTG has established one of the first computerized 3-D animated studios in

the Arab world, which can produce quality material for a few hundred U.S. dollars a second — a fraction of the cost in Western studios. The technology is used for making television commercials and promotional displays.

"I think this is one of the most interesting projects," comments Prince El-Hassan Bin Talal, the Crown Prince, who takes a close interest in Jordan's technological development. Mr. Al-Qassem says that because 70 percent of the population is aged under 17, there is a great need for the computer-generated educational aids that are now being produced by JTG. These are used not only to teach people how to use computer software such as word processing and spreadsheets, but also for such tasks as treasury management in banks.

JTG is also involved in



Wind and solar energy are being harnessed.



Jordan Technology Group's new all-terrain vehicle.

developing computer-management and maintenance services for industry. Other areas of activity include biotechnology (using algae as a supplementary animal feed is one project) and high-speed lightweight vehicles that can travel up to 100 miles an hour for military applications. Some of JTG's work is a spinoff from the Royal Scientific Society (RSS) and from the Higher Council for Science and Technology, of which the Crown Prince is president. The RSS came into existence in 1970 to help bridge the gap between

science and technology. Dr. Hani El Mukli, president of the RSS and secretary general of the HCST, believes in the importance of technology transfer involving processes, materials and, most significantly, people.

"We also have to remember that we are always trying to increase the added value through technological transfer," says Dr. El Mukli, adding that the development of information technology and research into renewable energy resources are two priority areas for the future. Energy developments

involve wind and solar power as well as ways of processing the 10 billion tons of oil shale that is Jordan's largest untapped energy resource. "I think shale oil will become more competitive than solar and wind power," says Dr. El Mukli.

The RSS is the biggest research center in the country, with a staff of 600 Jordanians and 30 laboratories. It is currently engaged in 19 major projects in industry, agriculture, pharmaceuticals, chemical processing, electronic engineering and software development. M.F.

# Industry Builds for the Future With a Focus on Exports

Industrial exports are at the heart of Jordan's economic restructuring program, which appears to be a success.

The kingdom's natural resources are limited, and manufacturing accounts for only 11 percent of GDP, but in 1992, industrial investment rose to 228 million dinars (\$353 million), and over 800 new industrial companies were established. The major players on the heavy-industry scene, the Jordan Phosphate Mines Company (JPMC) and the Arab Potash Company (APC), are expanding and diversifying. JPMC is already the

world's sixth-largest producer and third-largest exporter of phosphates, and its new projects at its Shidiyah mine in southern Jordan will enable it to push production from 5.2 million metric tons in 1992 to 9.6 million metric tons by the year 2000.

JPMC is now turning its attention to joint ventures, which will boost value-added income in Jordan and secure long-term markets abroad. Two projects are already under way: the

Indo-Jordan Chemicals Co., set up with SPIC of India, will use 750,000 tons of rock phosphate annually to produce phosphoric acid for the Indian market, while the Nippon Jordan Fertilizer Company is building a compound fertilizer plant in Aqaba. A third venture with Pakistani partners is under discussion.

APC has no less than six projects on its books, including a two-stage expansion of its Dead Sea works, which will increase production from the 1.4 million metric tons achieved in 1990 to 2.2 million metric tons by 1998. Other APC projects cover pro-

duction of salt, potassium sulphate, bromine and its derivatives, and magnesium oxide, all exploiting the resources of the Dead Sea.

Small-scale private industry is also enjoying a

## Small-scale industry is also growing

boom. Projects under way include a 15 million dinar iron-bar plant, manufacture of chlorine and hydrochloric acids using Dead Sea raw materials, local production of Marlboro cigarettes, clothing operations targeting the European market and a joint venture with Korean giant Lucky Goldstar. The latter is already producing

television sets and video recorders and is now expanding into refrigerators and washing machines. Such foreign interest is important in itself but also provides a confidence booster for local investors.

Some observers fear that in the rush to invest there will be duplication of effort and poor marketing studies, leading to poor profitability and in some cases, failure. The continuing restrictions on regional trade are a further handicap.

Certainly not all companies will succeed, but the private sector in Jordan learned a lot about survival in a short time during the Gulf War, and investors are confident that

they can continue to develop new markets and new products for an expanding local market.

Efforts are also under way to help local companies improve their production and marketing standards, and companies that have made the effort to take part in European trade and investment fairs have generally enjoyed success. Local industrialists point to their advantages in having a relatively cheap skilled work force, available capital and good access to the European and U.S. markets as reasons why foreign investors should be interested in joining the effort to bring Jordan into the global industrial economy. P.D.



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# Ready to Thrive in Coming Decade

Continued from Page 9 in government, an improvement in the standard of living (rural/urban disparity still gives cause for concern), equal rights and opportunities. Whatever the difficulties, and however insurmountable they have appeared, the king has always, in the words of his brother, Prince El-Hassan, the Crown Prince, "adopted a can-do attitude to life."

The democratization progress has at times been slow and painful. King Hussein's opponents have been temporarily imprisoned in the past and then offered posts in govern-

ment without recrimination. This autumn will see a general election, and there has been a gradual liberalization of the press and media as citizens' social and political responsibility increases.

"We firmly believe that people have the right to communicate," says the minister of information. "We have never had it easy in this country," comments Prince El-Hassan, "but there has always been a willingness to pick ourselves up again after a crisis." He speaks of a "permanence in Jordanian life" brought about by evolutionary progress

rather than revolutionary actions, which provides a kind of protective umbrella in times of strife.

Jordan has traditionally been a pivot in the Arab world's affairs and sometimes what the prince calls "a lightning conductor." Other nations have had to realize that Jordan is centrally important to regional developments. King Hussein, says his brother, is a romantic at heart, yet he can combine the ideal of Arab nationalism with a practical political message.

On the home front, the pressure is on for greater pluralism in politics and a medium-term social development package that includes greater efficiency in services and the development of human resources, as well as privatization. Ministers speak of a new sense of organization in government and its deep faith in the integrity of the king's commitment to achieve his goals for the country.

With few natural resources — apart from some minerals, primarily phosphates and oil shale — Jordan's greatest resource is its skilled citizens. Jordan has a "brain bank" that outshines those of most of the Arab world. Illiteracy is being reduced from 17 percent in 1954 to an expected 8 percent by the end of the century. Jordan has one of the finest education systems in the region, which turns out around 65,000 graduates annually.

Until the Kuwait crisis, there were about 15,000 Jordanian teachers in the Gulf states, including Saudi Arabia, but today that figure has dwindled to practically nil. In addition to teachers, thousands of Jordanian doctors and other professionals have been employed in the oil-rich Gulf states, whose development owes much to the Jordanian skill base. Jordan's own health and social services are now entirely staffed by Jordanians. This is a field in which King Hussein has always taken a great personal interest, and his support of this field has often led to the introduction of new medical technology in the kingdom's health centers and hospitals.

Fifty years ago, Jordan's Royal Medical Services (RMS) began with one foreign doctor, one vehicle and a handful of medical assistants. Today the RMS has become an exemplary institution entirely staffed by Jordanians, who last year treated about 2.5 million patients, including more than 1,000 heart-surgery patients. There are about 8,000 qualified practicing physicians in the country.

By capitalizing on its human resources, making better use of technology in industry and increasing services industries like tourism, Jordan has a chance to fight back and become more self-sufficient. Once boycotts and embargoes are lifted, its economic future will probably be rosier than ever before. A lasting Middle East peace settlement would, of course, be the finest jewel in the crown of Hussein, the "family king."

Michael Frenchman

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This advertising section was produced in its entirety by the supplements division of the International Herald Tribune's advertising department. It was written by Pamela Dougherty, a journalist based in Amman who is Jordan correspondent for the Middle East Economic Digest, and by Michael Frenchman, a free-lance journalist based in the United Kingdom who often writes about the Middle East.

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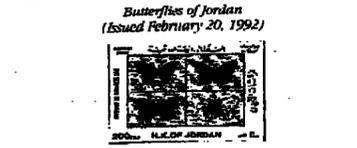
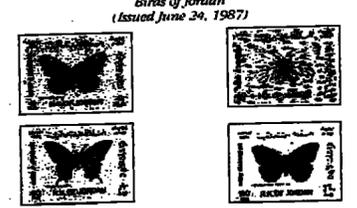
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● Noor Al Hussein Foundation's projects are funded by international organizations and supported by private-sector contributions. For further information: Please write to Noor Al Hussein Foundation, Box 926687, Amman, Jordan, Fax (962) (6) 685-298 or call (962) (6) 699-143 or (962) (6) 606-992/3.

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October 23
  6. White cane day  
December
  7. Butterflies of Jordan  
December 1
  8. World Aids Day  
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  10. Royal Scientific Society: A window on technology
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صوب ١٠٤١  
عمان - الأردن  
هاتف ٧٧٣١١١  
فاكس ٧٤٤٦٦٢

# Transportation Takes Off

Royal Jordanian, the national airline, is preparing for a takeoff into the private sector.

Last year, for the first time since the 1990 Gulf crisis, Royal Jordanian (RJ) made an operating profit of 32 million dinars (\$49.6 million). Passenger traffic rose to 1.1 million —

## The national airline is to be privatized

about 300,000 more than the previous year. Freight rose 11 percent, to 43,266 tons. Passenger traffic is expected to rise this year by 14 percent, and freight by 36 percent. The airline will begin a new twice-weekly flight to Chicago next month.

Officials are more confident about the airline's long-term prospects than they have been for some time, in spite of its 270 million dinar debt, much of it owed to three government-owned entities — the Housing Bank, Jordan Petroleum Refinery Co. and the Social Security Corporation.

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the airline, which began with

one DC7 and two Heralds. Today, its fleet consists of 18 aircraft, including six Airbus A310-300s and two Airbus A320-200s.

The airline has always played an important role in the Jordanian economy. It generates about 80 percent of its income in foreign currency, and its 5,000 employees provide direct support for some 25,000 family members. Another 25,000 are employed in related services — travel and tourism.

The airline has always been under-capitalized and has had to rely on heavy borrowing to maintain its fleet and operations. Services have often been badly hit by political crises in the region, the latest being the Gulf War. "We want to get the airline to take off again and to work on a proper commercial basis," says Jordan's deputy prime minister and minister of transport, Ali Al-Sehaimat. "It must be run on a business basis and be accountable to its shareholders," he adds.

The first phase of a pri-

vatzation study to establish the precise financial position of the airline has been completed by Arthur Andersen & Co., which has suggested a fivefold increase in capital, to \$100 million.

Bids from consultants are now being invited to complete a study on flight operations and to assess traffic rights. According to Mr. Al-Sehaimat, a special technical committee is to be established once the studies have been finished to consider potential shareholders and a new management structure. He did not rule out an involvement with another airline and said that the Jordanian government would continue to have a share in the new company for strategic reasons.

Because of Jordan's geographical position, land communications have become a vital part of the kingdom's infrastructure, and it has become a major transit corridor for heavy vehicles. Last year, 652,000 vehicles crossed the kingdom's borders.



Air-traffic controllers at Queen Alia airport.

There are more than 6,124 kilometers of paved roads. "We now have 262,000 registered vehicles and one of the largest freight transport fleets (more than 8,000 trucks) in the region," says the minister, adding that heavy axle loads have necessitated a continuous highway im-

provement program, which last year cost some 62 million dinars.

Public transportation in the greater Amman area is carried out by the Public Transport Company (PTC), which was founded in 1975. It carried 45 million passengers over 55 routes last year. M.F.

# Stable Economy Comes of Age

As Jordan celebrates King Hussein's 40 years on the throne, its economy is showing a new solidity.

Jordan has a limited resource base, and during the region's turbulent recent history, the economy has been buffeted by events that would challenge the strongest system. Waves of refugees, regional booms and slumps and the Gulf War have all played a part. Many feared that the combination of the 1989 debt crisis and the Gulf War would be too much for what is still a small, resource-poor country. Instead, government finances are improving, banks are buoyant and private investment is booming.

The government's climb from an overwhelming debt burden has not been easy. The 1970s oil boom brought 10 years of prosperity, mainly from aid and expatriate remittances from the Gulf countries, and encouraged high government spending on infrastructure and social services. Jordanians became accustomed to a good standard of living.

When Arab aid declined, the government turned to borrowing, and life continued to be good until the debt crisis hit in 1989. Now, after four years of restructuring and with five years still to go, Jordan can point to remarkable improvements. The International Monetary Fund was anticipating growth of 3 percent for Jordan in 1992, but Jordan's growth reached an exceptional 11 percent and should be around 6 percent in 1993. The budget deficit has come down from 13.8 percent of GDP in 1991 to 6.3 percent in 1992 and should drop to 2.35 percent by 1998.

Jordan's debt burden is still heavy — at \$6.5 billion it is 140 percent of GDP — but this is a lot better than the 200 percent it reached in 1989. The target now is to bring it down steadily, partly through debt buybacks but also, the government hopes, through debt forgiveness, until the debt burden can be brought down to a manageable 2 percent of GDP. Until this is done, however, debt servicing will continue to drain foreign-exchange reserves and absorb money needed for domestic investment.

Jordan's business sector generally appreciates the benefits of liberalization, although not all measures

have been popular. A new sales tax planned to be introduced in conjunction with the IMF standby arrangement for 1993-94 has aroused opposition and been postponed.

One area of singular success for the government and the Central Bank is the stabilization of Jordan's currency, which held steady even under the pressures of the Gulf War. Bank deposits are at record levels and Jordanians are beginning to repatriate funds from Europe for investment at home.

Even more than the government, Jordan's private business sector has been buffeted throughout the past decade by regional politics and domestic policies that often opened profitable markets only to close them down without notice. The drastic events of 1990 were only the most severe in a pattern that has prevailed throughout the decade. Now, the private sector picture is showing growing confidence and energy.

The return of over 300,000 Jordanians from Kuwait and other Gulf countries has been one factor. It has produced a construction boom as the returnees establish themselves in Jordan, a boom that is expected to continue in 1993. New building jumped from 2.7 million square meters in 1990 to 4.4 million square meters in 1991 and 5.9 million square meters in 1992.

A number of new consumer industries catering to the expanded population have also been established. The influx has contributed to a surge in imports, which rose from 1.6 billion dinars (\$248 bil-

lion) in 1991 to 2.05 billion dinars in 1992, while exports rose only from 430 million dinars to 460 million dinars over this time, leaving a deficit of 1.57 billion dinars. Some of the growth is due to higher capital goods and raw materials imports.

The financial market is booming, and banks are enjoying good profits as Jordanians and returnees look for investment opportunities, both in new export-oriented and local consumer-oriented industry. Tourism is also back on track; the record number of arrivals reached in 1989 should be comfortably surpassed this year, and there is a surge of local investment in new facilities, especially in the Petra area. Finally, Jordan's minerals-based heavy industries are entering a new phase of expansion, with ambitious plans for downstream operations.

No one would suggest that Jordan's economic problems are over, however. Unemployment is painfully high at 18 to 20 percent according to some estimates, although the official figure is 15 percent, and this is causing real poverty and hardship. Population growth, both natural and due to the returnee influx, is putting strains on Jordan's infrastructure and services. External barriers to progress also remain. The embargo on Iraq, poor relations with Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states and the slow progress on a peace settlement all hold back progress. An easing in any one of these areas would bring major improvements in Jordan's economy.

Pamela Dougherty

# Celebrating Forty Years of the King's Rule

Continued from Page 9 are universally admired, even though some of his political decisions are not. Brought up in Egypt and England (he was sent to the Royal Military Academy of Sandhurst after his accession), he is able to take an objective view of the political scene. "He often seems able to get straight to the real point with people, to cut through the surrounding fog of debate," says one of his close advisors.

Outside opponents sometimes see the king as a political meddler in other people's affairs in the Arab world. But his supreme confidence and air of authority have helped him to prevail, and the fact that he is a direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammed has given him added prestige in the Arab world. His brother, Crown Prince El-Hassan, says that the king is "first an Arab, and then a Jordanian."

But it is as a Jordanian that the king has worked for the last 40 years and managed to bring a degree of harmony to the Arab world. To him, the search



A joyous welcome marked the king's return.

for Arab unity is not only a dream, but a duty. He has assumed the role of peacemaker for the Arab world, although his methods have not always met with universal approval. His boldness, some say audacity, in diplomacy sometimes loses him friends, but in the long term they tend to come back.

The negative international reaction to his stand on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a great personal blow. Other problems for the country that were provoked by the Gulf War include the fact that Jordanians and Palestinians from around the Gulf were summarily expelled from the countries where they were living during the

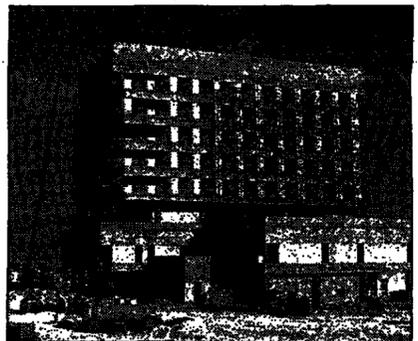
Kuwait crisis, and some 350,000 came back to Jordan. A similar number of refugees of other nationalities (mainly from India and Southeast Asia) also temporarily swamped the country.

His subjects expressed no obvious animosity toward the king, however. When he returned from a

major cancer operation last autumn, there was a universal display of affection for him. Jordanians turned out by the thousands, probably more than a million, say some observers, to welcome their king back home. "It was extraordinary; no one expected it, no one had foreseen such a spectacle, such a display of loyalty and affection," says one minister.

His subjects are nevertheless aware that the king will be 58 in November, and, although he has apparently fully recovered, some are apprehensive about his health.

About his succession there is no doubt; it will be the Crown Prince, who has complete empathy with his brother's ideals and beliefs, who will act as regent until the accession to the throne of King Hussein's son Prince Ali (whose mother was the king's third wife, Queen Alia, tragically killed in a helicopter crash). King Hussein also has two sons and two daughters by his fourth wife, Queen Noor. M.F.



Amman's new heart and special surgery hospital.

# Jordan's Most Precious Resource: Water

As the population, industry and tourism grow, the water supply has become increasingly threatened.

The basic statistics are not comforting. Supply in 1990 was 550 million cubic meters, with demand at 900 cubic meters. Supply in the year 2000 is expected to reach 700 cubic meters, but demand will have soared to 1,600 cubic meters, according to some estimates. Existing supply is not only limited; much of it is also in the wrong place, with groundwater supplies coming from the

east and south of the country, while the population is in the west and north.

The problem is compounded by political factors. Before 1962, the average annual flow at the King Hussein Bridge in the Jordan Valley was 1,250 cubic meters: 538 cubic meters from Lake Tiberias, 475 cubic meters from the Yarmouk River and 243 cubic meters from side valleys. Now, as a re-

sult of Israel pumping off this supply, the flow here is zero.

A major dam planned for the Yarmouk river in northern Jordan is also on hold until political disputes over riparian rights can be solved. The water shortage is already affecting economic and daily life as summer brings restrictions on water for irrigation as well as rationing of domestic supplies.

Despite the limitations, well over 90 percent of households throughout the country now have clean, piped water supplies. The Ministry of Water and Irrigation is fighting a double campaign to find new sources and to make better use of the existing supply. Studies are under way on the three major aquifers to determine whether new sources can be tapped.

Other possibilities are desalination and the construction of pipelines to bring water from Turkey or Iraq, but the former is

still beyond Jordan's financial capabilities, and in the current political conditions, pipelines can only be pipedreams.

The pressure to try new approaches can only grow, however. The return of Jordanians from Kuwait after the Gulf War boosted demand by 25 percent, and tourism is expected to rise by 10 percent to 15 percent annually over the next few years, with each tourist expected to consume 1,000 liters daily, compared with the Jordanian average of 100 liters.

Demand from agriculture is not heavy at present as commercial fruit and vegetable growers in the Jordan Valley are no longer able to sell to the Gulf markets that in normal times take around 60 percent of their irrigated crops. Most of the kingdom's grain and meat production comes from the rain-fed uplands, and expansion there depends as much on better techniques as on water supply. But expensive food imports in this sector are raising pressure to exploit all possible water sources to boost local production.

In the longer term, demand for water is sure to be further increased by improved relations with the Gulf states, by growers looking more and more to specialty markets in Europe, and by growing population numbers and industry expansion. It is a combination that will strain Jordan's ingenuity to the limits in the coming decade.

P.D.

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# Confidence in Financial Sectors Leads to Growth

Jordan's banks and financial markets are buoyant as the economy expands and investment takes off. The banking sector includes one giant, the Arab Bank, one major bank, the Housing Bank, and a large number of small commercial and investment banks. Favorable 1992 results confirm the belief of most bankers that there is room in the market for all of them.

The Central Bank of Jordan (CBJ) has worked hard in recent years to get the banking sector in good shape, encouraging mergers, tightening supervision and provisioning requirements in line with international standards. The CBJ also ensures that bank customers do not suffer for the

### Share prices rose by 30% in 1992

"sins" of their owners. The collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), which caused such pain to European depositors, passed smoothly in Jordan. BCCI's branches were sold to a local bank, and depositors were protected at all times.

Public confidence in both the Jordanian dinar and the banking sector is high, bank deposits have soared, reserves stand at \$4 billion to \$5 billion and capital is being repatriated, not just by returnees from Kuwait but also by Jordanians at home and abroad who have preferred in the past to keep their savings in Europe.

About half — around \$1 billion — of total liquidity in the kingdom is believed to be held by the Arab Bank, which has managed to survive recent local turmoil successfully. The bank's overall equity at the end of 1992 also stood at \$1 billion, and deposits were more than \$13 billion for the year. The bank's capital-adequacy ratio is well within the Bank of International Settlement's guidelines — 12.5 percent. It has more than 270 branches at home and abroad, and last month opened a branch in Frankfurt, with another planned to open soon in Madrid.

The newly established Philadelphia Investment Bank, launched following a merger between two finance houses and in business only since March 1 this year, is confident that it

can take 2 percent of the market within its first year. General Manager Fakhri Bilbeisi says the bank's approach is "to emphasize quality staff and quality service and to focus on local industrial activity." He sees the emphasis on developing new markets for industrial exports as one of the positive effects of the Gulf War, and he sees Jordan's future in markets in Asia, the United States and Europe rather than in neighboring countries.

The Union Bank for Savings and Investment's (UBSI's) general manager, Isam Halim Salfiti, also has faith in industrial growth: "We believe the future of Jordan is in industry," he says. But he prefers to look first at the local market, seeing exports as a bonus. The UBSI, another relative newcomer as a bank but with 15 years of experience as a finance house, is increasingly taking equity in the industrial and tourism projects it supports. Like most of Jordan's banks, the bank is expanding its presence in the market with the opening of new branches; its current eight will grow to 12 by the end of 1993. Mr. Salfiti believes that Jordanian banks should do more to modernize and expand their services, not just wait for demand to grow.

The Industrial Development Bank (IDB) has been doing its share in responding to the expansion of the economy, opening new branches at the thriving Sahab Industrial Estate and planning expansion into the two regional centers of Irbid and Aqaba. The bank enjoyed record lending and profits in 1992, and Dr. Tabe Kanaan, general manager, is confident that 1993 will be another good year. The Jordanian economy has now absorbed the adjustments required by the 1989 debt crisis and the Gulf war, he feels, and the growth momentum should continue.

With a capacity to lend for medium- and long-term projects and



The Housing Bank Center in Amman, one of many new complexes.

lending rates two points lower than the market, the IDB plays a special role in Jordanian industry. For small-scale and handicraft projects, it can lend at a rate as low as 5 to 6 points below the market standard, and in recent months, it has also introduced incentives for export-oriented industries.

Dr. Kanaan would like the IDB to move away from its current emphasis on lending activity and into the identification and preparation of and participation in projects in areas that are not adequately attended to by the private sector. He believes the IDB should develop into an investment bank working with the private sector. "We see investors coming to the bank looking for ideas, and we do not have them. The bank should now be a catalyst for private-sector development," he says.

The IDB already favors projects directed either to nonconventional

markets or toward producing non-conventional products for established markets. It is also cooperating in the establishment of a new non-profit graduate business school that will seek to develop the sorts of managerial skills already seen by the pharmaceuticals industry, Jordan's most successful private-sector exporter.

The lively growth in Jordan's banking sector, where a recent share issue was oversubscribed 11 times, is matched by an equally lively financial market. Average annual trading volume jumped from its 10-year norm of 200 million to 300 million Jordanian dinars (\$3.1 million to \$4.6 million) to 880 million dinars in 1992. Volume for first-quarter 1993 was 240 million dinars. Share prices rose on average by 30 percent over the year, making the market one of Jordan's most attractive investments. P.D.

# Welfare Fund Committed To Social Progress

Her Royal Highness Princess Basma bint Talal, younger sister of King Hussein, sits in the office at the Queen Alia Jordan Social Welfare Fund, which has dominated her working day for the past 15 years. She is warm, relaxed, and at ease as she gestures to the simply furnished room.

"This is where it all began, with just five of us," she says. The fund now oversees a network of 40 social development centers throughout Jordan and acts as the "umbrella" for non-government organizations working in the field of social development.

Princess Basma takes pride in the fund's achievements. "Now we have a presence and credibility, we are much clearer about our role and we want to carry on our work," she says. The fund's centers throughout Jordan offer services in early-childhood development, women's education and training, and rural development. The centers are designed according to standards set by the fund, and each includes a health clinic, a multi-purpose hall, vocational training facilities and facilities for kindergarten classes and children's clubs. Once a center is established by the fund, it is handed over to a suitable local private organization.

The fund's primary focus is on the education of mothers and young women. Its educational programs range from agriculture, religion, health and nutrition to mother-and-child needs and family planning. The fund's main premise is that the welfare of families must depend in the end on the welfare of the women in the family. Programs are designed to help these women gain practical skills that will both generate income and give them a better status in the family and community, as well as more confidence to play a role in their own development.

The fund's work is not just a question of theory or ideology; it has an enormous practical impact on the lives of the individuals involved. Umm Ahmad (Mother of Ahmad) lives in a tiny village in central Jordan and has become a celebrity in her community through her success in developing a lentil-growing and marketing business. She began with a small plot of land, and after learning about business possibilities from her local social center and getting technical advice and assistance in

marketing, she has expanded her growing area five times and now has one of the highest incomes in her village.

"Helping communities to help themselves" is the fund's function, says Princess Basma, and she sees no lack of response from the community. Jordanian women have the enthusiasm, the will to learn and the ability to become self-reliant, she says, adding that "the best thing the fund can do is to give people the skills to be able to help themselves."

She is also pleased to be able to



Princess Basma.

say that their programs for women have never provoked any opposition from the men in the community, especially in rural areas where, she says, "men and women have always worked together and their approach is very liberal, very balanced."

Princess Basma emphasizes the fact that "in all walks of life women can encounter situations where they are not confident and need an extra push, the tools and know-how to develop." Princess Basma looks at her work as a long-term investment. "People are anxious to learn, but the results of development are slow to show up," she says, adding: "It takes time, patience, constant support, but the end result is very rewarding." P.D.



## FERTILIZER INDUSTRY OF JORDAN EMERGES STRONG WITH PROMISING FUTURE



Nature has endowed Jordan with the raw materials necessary for manufacturing high quality fertilizers, using mined Phosphate Rock, and extracted potassium Chloride from brine. The Fertilizer Industry of Jordan endeavors to utilize these natural resources to provide its customers with products that meet their needs. Jordan is situated at the crossroads of Asia, Africa and Europe, which makes it an important supplier of these raw materials to the world.



Jordan Phosphate Mines Co. was established in 1935 as a private company founded to exploit the phosphate deposits near Amman. The company was reorganized several times to become in 1953 the current Jordan Phosphate Mines Co. (JPMC) mining Russaifa area deposit. Mining activities extended to Elhassa mine in 1962, Elbiad mine in 1979, and Elshidiya mine in 1988. A milestone development took place in 1985 when JPMC purchased the fertilizer complex in Aqaba.

The company capital was increased several times to accommodate the company development to reach 34.2 million J.D. by 1987.

JPMC is the world's sixth largest producer of rock (4.29 MMT in 1992) and the third largest exporter (4.26 MMT in 1992) and JPMC enjoyed a market share of about 15% in 1992 of world phosphate Rock traded. JPMC plans to increase its production of phosphate rock gradually to reach 9.6 in the year 2000.

In view of the commitment of JPMC to make available the fertilizers needed to feed the growing population of the world, JPMC is embarking on an ambitious expansion programme to increase the production of fertilizers through Joint Ventures, utilizing the abundantly available raw materials and the liberal

Investment laws in Jordan JPMC has concluded a Joint Venture with India for the production of Phosphoric Acid. JPMC and APC has signed an agreement with a Japanese Consortium to establish an NPK plant and is currently considering other proposals for possible Joint Ventures in Various fields.

The Arab Potash Company is a pan Arab Venture which started producing potassium chloride Fertilizer in 1982 and has achieved a major position in the International Market in general, and the Asian Market in particular, as the 3rd largest supplier to Asia. The company achieved profitability since 1988 and is currently engaged in a major effort to establish a range of industries based on exploiting the rich minerals of the Dead Sea.

In this respect, the company is seeking cooperation on the international level from potential partners to embark on its schemes of establishing a Bromine and Bromine Derivatives Industry, a Magnesia Industry, a potassium sulphate and Nitrate Complex.

The Company also plans to operate its new potash plant in 1994 which will bring production up from 1.4 to 1.8 Million Tons of product destined mostly for export.

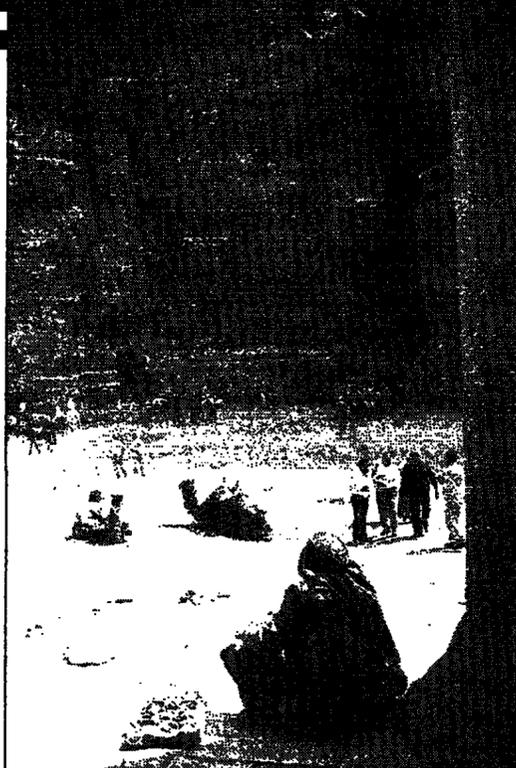
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The Siq as it opens out in Petra.

## Tourism: Living Up to High Expectations

"Eternal, silent, beautiful, alone! . . . / Match me such a marvel save in Eastern clime, / A rose-red city half as old as Time." — from "Petra," by Dean Burgon.

Petra is one of the few sights in the world that lives up to expectations. As you emerge after a 20-minute horse-and-buggy ride through the shadows of the narrow siq, or canyon-like fissure through the rock, you are suddenly confronted with the facade of the Treasury building cut into the solid rock face.

The impact is breathtaking; so is the silence if you arrive early in the morning, before the 3,000 to 4,000 tourists who come here each day. There is only the noise of horses' hooves clip-clopping over the rock-strewn path, and perhaps the sound of a boy playing a flute in the still-cool air, which has yet to feel the heat of the midday sun.

Much of Petra, three hours' drive south of Amman, has yet to be uncovered. Most of the existing buildings are tombs cut into the rock face; they appear to have outlasted the civic buildings of what was

once a grand city of monumental proportions built 2,000 years ago. But the site also includes an amphitheater, a marketplace and a wide plaza. On either side of the huge can-

### Many sites are rarely visited

yon in which the city has been built are what are believed to be the remains of shop fronts or merchant's houses, but mostly there are tombs in the form of dwelling houses, much like those in Latin America but on a larger scale.

The main approach to Petra is through the mile-long cleft in the rock, just wide enough for a chariot. As the tourists arrive, it is easy to imagine they are the thronging crowds of Petra's citizens going about their daily business. Sitting at the "Original Arab coffeehouse" (now run by a New Zealand nurse married to a Jor-

nian), young boys sell "genuine" Roman oil lamps or will write your name in the rose-red sand of Petra in a small bottle for a few dollars.

It is the color, rather than the ancient buildings carved out of the rock, that is the most impressive. There are all shades of pink and red, marbled with white, brown and chocolate. Petra is still a world of its own, waiting to be discovered. But, according to the Ministry of Tourism, it is in danger of being overrun. Refreshment facilities are meager, generally unclean and overpriced. The only hotel is being expanded, but far more high-quality rooms are needed if Petra is to meet the demands of modern tourists.

This is one reason why the government is trying to highlight Jordan's other ancient ruins and historical sites, of which there are many. These include the wildlife of Wadi Rum, close to Petra, where the



Private enterprise — souvenirs of Petra.

more adventurous tourist can try rock climbing or camel safaris. Just north of Petra is Shobak, one of the earliest Crusader castles, in a striking position on a small hilltop guarding the gap between two ranges of mountains. It is rarely visited by tourists and is well worth the effort required to get there.

In the north are several beautiful spots, including the pine-clad hills of Ajlun, with its crusader castle, and the Hellenistic city

at Gadara in Umm Qeis. Just on the outskirts of Amman (which was called Philadelphia by the Romans and was built, like Rome, on seven hills), is the wonderful sprawling Roman city of Jerash. With its colonnaded streets and oval plaza, and the magnificent South Theater with bank after bank of steeply raked stone seats, Jerash still retains much of its original city walls as well as the imposing Hadrian's Gateway. M.F.

## Educated Workers: A Valuable Natural Resource

Education is one of the key aspects of social development in Jordan. It has been essential for the development of the Jordanian skill base, the kingdom's major resource.

Thousands of Jordanian teachers, doctors and scientists, as well as adaptations of the Jordanian school curriculum, are found throughout the Arab world.

"Some people say we may have been overdoing it, but, as a general policy, education is a maximum priority because we don't have any other natural resources," says Dr. Munther W. Masri, secretary general at the Ministry of Education in Am-

man. "Education has become the main vehicle for the development of our country," he adds.

Since 1954, the kingdom's rate of illiteracy has been substantially reduced and is expected to be only 8 percent by the end of the century. About 1.25 million children receive primary and secondary education, 35,000 attend communal colleges and 40,000 students go to the five state and five private universities. Another

20,000 students attend universities in other countries.

Jordan's first university was established in 1962. The 10 existing ones are to be supplemented by two more state-supported institutions — one now under construction at Zarqa, just northeast of Amman, and another at Mafraq on the northern frontier with Syria, a facility that is being transformed into a college of Islamic studies. The private sector is also planning to improve and expand a number of existing facilities.

According to Dr. Masri, there has been a gradual transition over the last few years to more democratic, more liberal educational institutions. The education system as a whole has also had to absorb a number of

shocks. The latest of these followed the Gulf War, which led to the influx of 100,000 new students. "It has taken us three years to cope with this problem, but some of the physical facilities are not too good, and our education system has become overworked," says Dr. Masri.

About one-third of all the kingdom's students aged between 18 and 24 are in the higher-education sector. "This very high figure can have a negative effect on us because of the lack of suitable jobs when they graduate," says Dr. Masri, adding: "Today there is considerable unemployment among the highly educated."

Unemployment is officially about 15 percent, but Dr. Masri suggests that a more realistic proportion among the post-graduate population is around 20 percent. While the primary and secondary education system has been

overloaded by the returnees from Kuwait, Iraq and elsewhere, a major school-building program has been in progress since 1987, which has helped alleviate the problems. About 450 new schools have been built. This has also helped to eliminate the problems of teachers working double shifts and the use of some temporary teaching facilities, which were often of a simple nature.

The government is spending nearly \$1 billion on a 10-year educational reform program. Last year saw the completion of the first phase, which cost \$254 million and was financed by a number of foreign government and international aid funds, including the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development, Japan's Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund and Britain's Overseas Development Administration. M.F.

## Exceptional Health Services

Major changes affecting the operation of the country's well-established health services are currently being implemented under the direction of the minister of health, Dr. Arif S. Batayneh, a former major-general in the Royal Medical Services.

Dr. Batayneh, who is also a practicing physician and had been in the military medical service since the 1960s, is aiming to introduce more order, discipline and responsibility to the health sector, already the best in the Arab world, according to many experts.

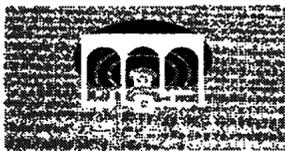
"We have a 100 percent Jordanian service with a total of around 10,000 registered doctors, of which about 7,000 are in practice — this is one of the factors which makes us differ-

ent from neighboring Arab countries," says Dr. Batayneh. The ministry has a health-care budget of about \$120 million for this year, which is being supplemented by international and other funds to a total of about \$225 million.

"We are now trying to enter a period of cost recovery by gradually introducing charges for operations and prescriptions," says Dr. Batayneh. About one-third of the population is treated by the Royal Medical Service and another third by the Ministry of Health through social medical insurance. From the beginning of the year, patients who are not insured pay about \$4.65 per hospital visit. But if the patient has been referred to a hospital by a medical

center, the fee is reduced to only 65 cents.

Hospital operations are priced at between \$12.40 and \$18.60, plus \$3.87 a day for a bed. Basic prescription charges range from about 15 cents to 45 cents. Jordan has established a number of medical centers that have achieved worldwide recognition for excellence. The first heart transplant operation ever carried out at a military hospital was done in 1985. "The man is still living — we gave him a job in the hospital so that we could keep an eye on him," says Dr. Batayneh, adding that other operations, including cardiovascular surgery and liver and kidney transplants, are all carried out by Jordanian medical staff. M.F.



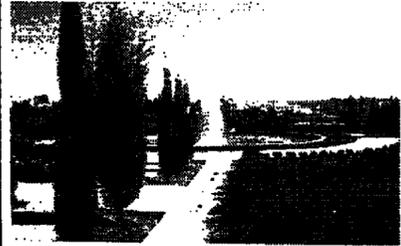
## GREATER AMMAN MUNICIPALITY

The population of Amman, the capital of Jordan, has grown steadily during the past 40 years. Until the 1950's, the population stood at around 100,000 persons but an influx of forced migrants has led to a surge in population growth, and Greater Amman now has more than one million inhabitants.

The municipality had limited financial resources to cope with the rapid increase in population and expansion of the city. Nevertheless, in spite of the strains and stresses caused by the rise in population and lack of adequate economic support, the municipality has managed to provide sufficient infrastructure and services to meet demand. Particular attention has been paid to the local environment, and Amman has distinguished itself among the world's capitals by becoming one of the cleanest cities.

Amman has been transformed into a thoroughly modern city with a wide range of daily services and facilities, both new and traditional, to meet the needs of its citizens.

It provides all kinds of social amenities — public libraries, children's clubs and gardens — which can be found throughout the city. The municipality has also helped foster a variety of cultural and artistic activities to help improve the quality of life.



## Social Programs Become Model for the Arab World

With more than 70 percent of its population of 4.2 million aged below 35 years and 33 percent under 17 years, Jordan has made looking after the young one of its top priorities. Its youth-oriented social welfare programs — along with its programs for the handicapped and needy — are among the country's main achievements of the past 15 years.

Jordan would like to be seen by other countries in the Arab world as a model of good social development. "We have about 23,000 families who are classified as 'needy' and 137,000 handicapped persons," says Dr. Amin Al-Mashakbah, minister of social development. Last month, a new law was passed making it mandatory for companies with over 25 and up to 50 employees to have at least one disabled person on its pay-

roll; companies with more than 50 employees must have at least two handicapped workers.

The Ministry of Youth's main object is to promote all kinds of sporting and outdoor activities for young people. It is also responsible for building and managing two sports complexes, in Amman and Irbid, with a third under construction and a fourth being planned, each at a cost of up to 6 million dinars (\$9.3 million). The

complexes combine a stadium that seats up to 30,000 spectators, running tracks, Olympic-standard swimming pools and open grounds for athletics and games.

The country also has an extensive network of around 280 youth clubs that provide a variety of activities for boys and girls — not just games, but also arts and scientific activities. One of the aims is to teach young people about their country's folklore

and heritage, and to show them the importance of voluntary work and general social responsibility. Each of the youth clubs has up to 500 members, with a waiting list in some places.

A national committee for the development of sport, established two years ago, is drawing up a strategy for sports development over the next 20 years. "We are looking for more democracy in sport, particularly in its management and promotion," Mr. Ershadat says, adding: "Sport cannot be run on a political basis." He wants to see the level of sport raised to Olympic standards wherever possible. A Jordanian won a bronze medal at the Barcelona

Olympics in tae kwon do. Others have done well in equestrian sports and fencing.

"We are also trying to institutionalize social work and assistance with the private sector, which has to share some of the economic burden," says Dr. Al-Mashakbah. There are now 625 voluntary societies in the country, 250 of them in Amman, which raise funds from the public and dispense food and cash to the needy. They also help with training and rehabilitation programs in cooperation with the Ministry of Social Development.

Caring for the handicapped is another objective of his ministry. By law, companies must pro-

vide a certain number of workplaces that are suitable for handicapped people. Special institutions are being built where the handicapped can be trained in various skills.

Only about 5 percent of the country's handicapped people are now able to benefit from the new programs. "But we hope to include at least 50 percent of them between now and the next five years," says Dr. Al-Mashakbah. He sees Jordan becoming a role model for other Arab nations, and he receives many official delegations from countries like Egypt, the Sudan, Lebanon and Oman, which want to follow Jordan's lead in caring for the needy and handicapped. M.F.

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## Making the Region Safe for the Oryx

Dana village sits astride a high plateau among the mountains of the Sharaa just to the south of the Dead Sea. It is a naturally fortified hill-top site that has been inhabited since 4000 B.C.

Deep gorges and canyons plunge into the deep, dark cool below. Ibex, mountain gazelle, badgers, striped hyenas, jackals and wolves live among the scrub, shrubs and trees scattered around the rocky landscape.

The protection and restoration of Dana and its surrounding wildlife and flora is one of the most exciting projects being carried out by the Royal Society for the Conservation of Nature. The village itself, with

its zigzag alleys, little courtyard houses with stone arches and flat roofs, has changed little since the last century. At present, the inhabitants are mostly clans from the Hebron tribe, Al-A'ta, who settled in the area in Ottoman times.

The Dana village and reserve lie in one of the most beautiful parts of the country. To the north is the Edomite site of Buseira, to the South Petra and the Crusader castle at Shobak. At the western end of the wadi

Dana is the third century B.C. copper mine once worked by the Romans.

Dana was chosen as a wildlife reserve by the RSCN and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature as the result of a joint study in 1976. The RSCN has already established a dozen wildlife reserves and nation-

### Reserves cover 4% of the land area

al parks, which cover about 4 percent of the total land area of Jordan. It also has a program to reintroduce and increase some of the indigenous mammals and protect their natural habitats. "We have been pio-

neers among the Arab states for the conservation of nature," says Maher Z. Abu Jafar, general director of the RSCN. One of the most successful projects involved the Arabian oryx, which became extinct in the wild at the turn of the century. New stock was introduced in 1979, when four males were brought over from the San Diego Zoo in the United States; they were later joined by four females.

"Now we have about 135 animals, with one of the highest breeding ratios in the world, at the Shaumari Reserve," says Mr. Jafar. As a result, Jordan has been able to send four oryx to Oman and eight to Saudi Arabia to help re-establish the animals there.

# Style



The well-dressed Beijing toddler at the playground.

## Beijing's New Look: Tiny Fashion Plates

**BEIJING** — You see them in the streets of the capital, girls age 3 or 4, dressed in frilled skirts as stiff as crispy noodles, fancy shoes, a bow in the hair and rouge and lipstick on their faces. Boys too get royal treatment, wearing rompers, shorts and knickers suits, often with matching caps, that are a hybrid of the sailor suits nice little boys suffered a century ago.

In the parks on weekends or taking a stroll in the Forbidden City, children are dressed up as they have not been in the West since society gave up on Sunday Best.

This is a watershed moment. The regulation jacket and pants in drab colors peered out in the cities 10 years ago, making today's young adults the last to have been brought up in uniform clothes. Now they are becoming parents, and they are not about to put their offspring in faded jeans and scruffy T-shirts, but instead want everything as new, shiny and fancy as possible.

Children's wear is big business here. So big, that at Beijing's fashion fair, a representative of Pierre Cardin's children's wear, manufactured in the southern city of Guangzhou, said that the production unit can barely keep up with demand. In street markets the frilled dresses are strung on local stalls and sold for 50 yuan (less than \$10). The prices of children's clothes in Beijing stores suggest that the pagoda roof is the limit.

The Hong Kong architect Arthur Kwok and his wife, Linda, spotted the potential for children's wear in China and set up a joint venture, which opened in December 1992, a children's shopping center within the main department store in Wuhan.

"We are very optimistic — we feel it's going to be a great success," says Linda Kwok. "Chinese people put great emphasis on material things because they were deprived for so long. And there are six adults — two parents and four grandparents — doting on one child."

Vivian Chow, a Hong Kong resident with a home in Shanghai, thinks the West is ignorant about today's urban Chinese society. When her Spotlight theater company opened "Extremities," a play with a rape scene, in Shanghai last week, she found that the kids came too — and ran round unchecked.

"The Americans talk about Chinese child labor, but we are talking here about spoiled kids," she says. "Children's fashion could be very big here — everyone is prepared to spend anything on them."

— Suzy Menkes

A cross-section of the fashion scene in Shanghai's streets underlines the booming interest in dressing well that is visible in the major Chinese cities open to commerce.

## Yuppie Shanghai Shows Old Flair Chinese Crowd the Stores In Fast-Changing Society

**Continued from Page 1**

cheongsams — that seductive marriage of Eastern and Western fashion that developed in the 1920s. She sees them worn now as touristic folklore mainly by hotel waitresses, while the population craves bright modern clothes.

The Shanghai stores filled with eager customers show that there is a killing to be made. But how to get into China, and get it right, in the fashion equivalent of the California Gold Rush?

For Kai-Yin Lo, a Hong Kong based jeweler with an international reputation and a global business, that metaphor is especially apt. She has set up a factory in Guangdong Province and is looking for a joint venture — the only sure way in — but research has proved that potential clients are not yet ready for her imaginative designs and unusual mixes of semi-precious stones.

"Shanghai has always been more urbane, and it has resumed its urge to be a commercial capital," she said. "But the people have never had anything, and when they buy a handbag, it is not because of the styling, but because it is leather. So first they want gold and then they want a diamond."

Lo says that the big successes in China are not designer fragrances, but Proctor & Gamble's Head & Shoulders anti-dandruff shampoo. Even if Louis Vuitton has a boutique in Beijing, the local clientele is looking for fashion at 500 yuan (\$85) and "the big brand name is a long way off."

She sees little real purchasing power and a market supplied almost entirely by China itself. This is proved by the clothes in Huzhai



Li — the former Avenue Joffre and a magnet for Shanghai's young and fashionable. The smartest suits sell at around 600 yuan, the pleated skirts from 120 yuan. High fashion would be 10 times that.

Dickson Poon, of Hong Kong's luxury goods company, has already crossed the border to set up a "Dickson" department store in Shanghai and a "Dickson Shopping Village" in Shenzhen.

"In any developing country people go through a period of substantial increase in income — and as long as that is so people become more status-conscious," he says. "Luxury products offer an individual identity."

Ma Yun Fang, an adviser on Shanghai's trade development, says that the aspirations of consumers are now in a third phase.

"Ten years ago, the three things everyone wanted were a watch, a bicycle and a sewing machine," she said. "Then it was things for the home: a washing machine, television and a refrigerator. Now it is a camera and clothes. The young generation is very fashion conscious and the name brands are very important."

Hong Kong accounts for 35.1 percent of China's total trade, according to the Hong Kong Trade Development Council. But the brands that have made it in China are not those you might know: Crocodile sportswear (a Lacoste look-alike), Goldlion and Giordano, whose three stores in Guangzhou and one in Shenzhen together average sales of \$3.9 million a month.

Hong Kong fashion folklore has

products in state-owned department stores; an average price of just 200 yuan to 300 yuan per purchase and the importance of setting prices at a low level; the possibility of promoting products via Hong Kong television. (Satellite dishes are widely available in China.)

Wong does not believe that the Chinese government will, or could, damp consumer demand.

"It is reversible," she says. "One thing we have realized in Guangdong is that once you have a sophisticated consumer, you cannot reverse the trend. China has a vast rural population. In the key cities, inflation is at 9 percent and may even go into double digits, but that is acceptable during a fast-growing period. The whole system is eroding and China will be different in one year — every day is different."

Although she believes that the luxury market may eventually be in Beijing, the seat of government, Wong describes Shanghai as a "bubbly" city, where the Trade Development Council will hold a fashion fair in August.

Antonio Maria Martini, a Hong Kong-based designer who has a Shanghai store for Italian labels, is bullish about the city's prospects.

"Shanghai belonged to us — the French, the Italians, the Europeans," he said. "For sure we can make it the capital of fashion in Asia. In not even 10 years, but in five or seven, Shanghai will be the heart of everything."

## Donna Karan to Open in China

**HONG KONG** — Donna Karan will become the first American designer to open a fashion store in China. A shop in Shenzhen, the special economic zone adjacent to Hong Kong, will open in September. Plans were finalized during Karan's visit to Hong Kong last week. The store, in conjunction with Joyce of Hong Kong, will sell DKNY (Donna Karan New York) the designer's lower-priced sportswear line.

"Our outlook on China is that it is a huge potential market," said Steve Ruzow, president and chief operating officer of Donna Karan, reached by telephone in New York. "But this is a one-store deal. We have not clearly defined our strategy and I would think a lot harder about selling in Peking or Shanghai."

Joyce is the premier luxury retailer in Southeast Asia with 24 boutiques in Hong Kong and a Joyce store slated for Taipei in September.

"Greater China is the next step," says Roberto Dominici, managing director of Joyce, which has had a major success with DKNY in Hong Kong. "Joyce has had a very patient approach to China. We are not cautious, but we like to go into China starting with people we are familiar with."

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HANA E MORI, FASHION DESIGNER  
**People at the top read the Trib.**  
Herald Tribune

## CHESS

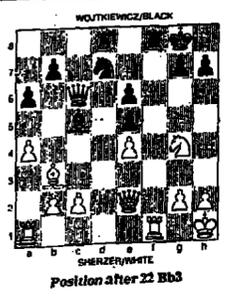
**By Robert Byrne**

**A**N example of an opponent's counterplay exceeding expectations, thus ruining the strategy, is illustrated by the game between Alex Sherzer, an American international master, and Alexander Wojtkiewicz, champion of Poland, in Round 1 of the Hudson International Tournament at the Pace University Campus Center in Pleasantville, N.Y.

The value of 6 f4 against the Najdorf Sicilian is still undecided: it is less adventurous than 6 Bg5, but more aggressive than 6 Be2. After 6...e5 7 Nf3 Nbd7, White is not advised to rush into 8 Be4 b5 9 Bd5 Rh8 10 Ng5 because 10...Nd5 11 Qd5 Qe7 12 a3 Bb7 13 Qd1 b6 14 Nf3 Nf6 15 O-O Qe7 yields Black a nice position.

Also, after 8 a4 Be7, 9 Bd3 is of doubtful merit because of 9...Qd5! 10 Qe2 (10 O-O? Qc5 picks up the loose bishop) b5 11 Bb3 Bb7 12 O-O b4 13 Nd5 Nd5 14 c3 Bd5 15 f6 16 Ne5 Bb3 17 Nd7 Be6 18 Ne5 Qe5 19 Kh1 O-O with a superior two-bishop game for Black.

Sherzer tried to resolve the game into a simple positional scheme with 15 Be5 d6 16 Ne6 f6. The idea was that the resulting doubled black c pawns were blocked by a single white pawn, while, in an endgame, the three white queenside pawns would produce a decisive passed pawn. But Wojtkiewicz found it easy to put obstacles in the



way: his doubled pawns controlled important center squares, limiting the activity of the white minor pieces; two of these squares, f4 and d4, could be used for rook outposts in the half-open files; two other squares controlled by black pawns, f5 and d5, denied the white knight possible outposts; the white knight was unstably posted at e3 because of the possible attack with...Bb4.

Sherzer should probably have played 20 a5 with the plan of continuing with 21 Ne4, 22 c3 and 23 b4. Of course, Wojtkiewicz would have countered by 20...Be3 21 Qe3 Rd4 followed by doubling rooks on the d file. Instead, Sherzer got his minor pieces into uncomfortable positions after 20 Ng4! Nd7 21 Be4 Qe6 22 Bb3.

After 22...b5! 23 Nf2 Bf2 24 Rf2 g6 25 Rf8 Rf8 26 Rf1 Nc5 27 a5 Rf1 28 Qf1, Wojtkiewicz did not care about letting all rooks be exchanged because 28...Nb3 29 cb Qe4 gave him a won queen-and-pawn endgame.

Keeping tight control over Sherzer's attempts to obtain perpetual check and maintaining careful protection of his pawns, Wojtkiewicz marched his king up to help with the advance of the passed e5 pawn. Sherzer could not play 44 Qf3 Kd4 45 Qg4 e4 46 Qg5 Qb5! 47 Qb5 ab 48 g4 hg 49 b4 Kd3 50 h5 e3 51 h6 e2 52 Ke1 g2.

After 50...Qd2, Sherzer gave up without going through 51 Kg1 Qe1 52 Kf2 Qg3 53 Kh1 Qf3.

**SICILIAN DEFENSE**

White	Black	White	Black	
Sherzer	Wojtkiewicz	Sherzer	Wojtkiewicz	
1	1	26	Rf1	Ng5
2	2	27	Rf1	Rf1
3	3	28	Qf1	Qd5
4	4	29	cb	Qe4
5	5	30	Qe4	Qb5
6	6	31	h6	e2
7	7	32	Ke1	g2
8	8	33	Ng4	Nd7
9	9	34	Be4	Qe6
10	10	35	Bb3	Qd2
11	11	36	a5	Ng5
12	12	37	a5	Rf1
13	13	38	g6	Rf8
14	14	39	Rf8	Rf8
15	15	40	Rf1	Nc5
16	16	41	Qf1	Qd5
17	17	42	Qf1	Qd5
18	18	43	cb	Qe4
19	19	44	Qe4	Qb5
20	20	45	h6	e2
21	21	46	Ke1	g2
22	22	47	Ng4	Nd7
23	23	48	Be4	Qe6
24	24	49	Bb3	Qd2
25	25	50	a5	Ng5
26	26	51	a5	Rf1
27	27	52	g6	Rf8
28	28	53	Rf8	Rf8
29	29	54	Rf1	Nc5
30	30	55	Qf1	Qd5
31	31	56	Qf1	Qd5
32	32	57	cb	Qe4
33	33	58	Qe4	Qb5
34	34	59	h6	e2
35	35	60	Ke1	g2
36	36	61	Ng4	Nd7
37	37	62	Be4	Qe6
38	38	63	Bb3	Qd2
39	39	64	a5	Ng5
40	40	65	a5	Rf1
41	41	66	g6	Rf8
42	42	67	Rf8	Rf8
43	43	68	Rf1	Nc5
44	44	69	Qf1	Qd5
45	45	70	Qf1	Qd5
46	46	71	cb	Qe4
47	47	72	Qe4	Qb5
48	48	73	h6	e2
49	49	74	Ke1	g2
50	50	75	Ng4	Nd7
51	51	76	Be4	Qe6
52	52	77	Bb3	Qd2
53	53	78	a5	Ng5
54	54	79	a5	Rf1
55	55	80	g6	Rf8
56	56	81	Rf8	Rf8
57	57	82	Rf1	Nc5
58	58	83	Qf1	Qd5
59	59	84	Qf1	Qd5
60	60	85	cb	Qe4
61	61	86	Qe4	Qb5
62	62	87	h6	e2
63	63	88	Ke1	g2
64	64	89	Ng4	Nd7
65	65	90	Be4	Qe6
66	66	91	Bb3	Qd2
67	67	92	a5	Ng5
68	68	93	a5	Rf1
69	69	94	g6	Rf8
70	70	95	Rf8	Rf8
71	71	96	Rf1	Nc5
72	72	97	Qf1	Qd5
73	73	98	Qf1	Qd5
74	74	99	cb	Qe4
75	75	100	Qe4	Qb5

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# NYSE

Monday's Closing  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

17 Month	High	Low	Open	Close	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980
IBM	110.00	108.00	109.00	109.00	108.00	107.00	106.00	105.00	104.00	103.00	102.00	101.00	100.00	99.00	98.00	97.00	96.00
Apple	100.00	98.00	99.00	99.00	98.00	97.00	96.00	95.00	94.00	93.00	92.00	91.00	90.00	89.00	88.00	87.00	86.00
Microsoft	100.00	98.00	99.00	99.00	98.00	97.00	96.00	95.00	94.00	93.00	92.00	91.00	90.00	89.00	88.00	87.00	86.00

## Apple, IBM Join Japanese For Multimedia Standard

By Andrew Pollack  
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Kaleida Labs, a joint venture of Apple Computer and IBM, will announce here Tuesday that three Japanese electronics giants have joined it in its quest to create a standard for computers that can display video images and reproduce music and voices.

Hitachi Ltd., Mitsubishi Electric Corp. and Toshiba Corp. will be charter members, along with Apple and International Business Machines Corp., of an alliance to use ScriptX, Kaleida's computer language for the creation and playback of so-called multimedia programs. Also joining is Creative Technology Ltd., a Singapore company known for its Sound Blaster circuit board that allows personal computers to reproduce sounds.

ScriptX is being pushed as a standard for multimedia computers and consumer devices, particularly those that store their programs on CD-ROMs, a variation of the audio compact disk. But many leading companies, including Sony Corp., Matsushita Electric Industrial Co. and Philips Electronics NV, have not yet signed up to use ScriptX.

Multimedia has become the great hope for new growth of both the personal-computer and consumer-electronics industries. Companies are hoping to attract consumers with such applications as electronic encyclopedias that display video images as well as text, and video

games which use movie footage of real actors instead of cartoon-like graphics.

Right now there are many incompatible CD-ROM systems so that, for instance, a CD-ROM made for an Apple Macintosh cannot be played on an IBM PC. The fragmentation has slowed growth of the market because software companies have been reluctant to invest much in developing programs that can play on machines of only a single manufacturer.

"Putting one million to two million dollars into building a great CD-ROM title has essentially been impossible," said Nat Goldhaber, president and chief executive of Kaleida.

But if a program is written using ScriptX, it will be playable on any machine adhering to the proposed standard, Mr. Goldhaber said.

Mr. Goldhaber said that ScriptX would be ready for shipment to manufacturers in the first quarter of 1994 and that there could be as many as 5 million machines using the standard by Christmas of 1994.

But Tuesday's announcement makes clear that Kaleida still has far to go to win acceptance.

A drawback of the product is that use of the intermediary software slows down the execution of programs, which might make ScriptX inappropriate for video games and other programs that require speed. Another drawback is that ScriptX works best on relatively expensive machines with powerful microprocessors, such as the Intel 486 or Motorola 68040.

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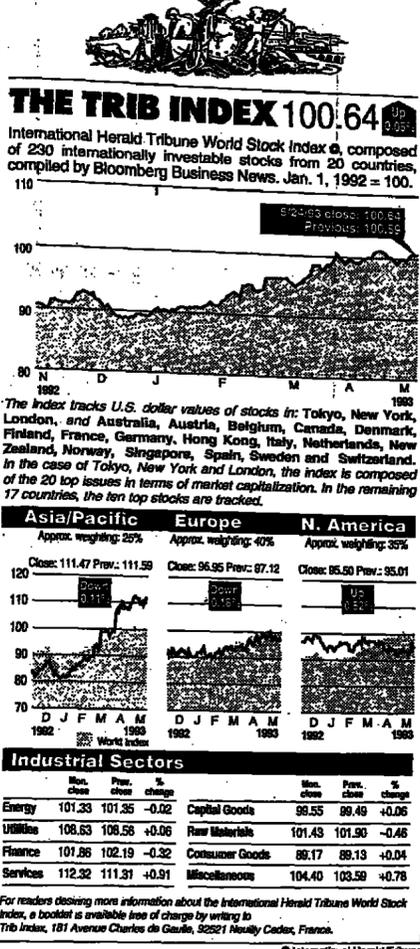
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IBM																	



## López Says He Took No Secrets From GM

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
**BONN** — A former General Motors executive who defected to Volkswagen denied Monday that he had walked off with a hoard of secret documents belonging to the U.S. carmaker.

On Saturday, General Motors Corp.'s subsidiary Adam Opel AG said it had filed a criminal complaint in a Darmstadt court against José Ignacio López de Arriortúa, GM's former purchasing chief.

Mr. López on Monday rejected GM's charges that he had stolen company documents. "My reputation has been damaged," he said.

"What have I brought with me? My personal knowledge and years of experience, a strong motivation, the will to realize quantum leaps at Volkswagen. But absolutely no secret documents," Mr. López said at a news conference in Braunschweig.

A Volkswagen spokesman, Karl-Günter Hornig, said Mr. López and others who switched with him to Volkswagen had filed "countercharges" against GM in a Braunschweig court.

The legal action is against a restraining order sought by the U.S. carmaker to prevent Mr. López from raiding executives at Adam Opel AG, GM's German subsidiary, Mr. Hornig said.

He said the legal papers were filed a few days ago, but he refused to disclose their precise contents.

Mr. López took with him seven colleagues from the General Motors group, five from GM USA and two from Opel. But he said on Monday all seven came with him voluntarily. "We did not lure them away," he said.

At the news conference, Mr. López said: "I must defend myself decisively here and now against."

See LOPEZ, Page 21

## A Troubled Dutch Sea Gas Riches Versus Environmental Wealth

**By Jon Henley**  
*Special to the Herald Tribune*  
**AMSTERDAM** — Sheltered behind a necklace of islands off the Dutch coast is one of the North Sea's last remaining environmental assets: an unspoiled region of shallow waters and wide mud flats rich in plant, fish and bird life.

But the Wadden Sea conceals more controversial riches: An estimated 30 billion guilders (\$16.5 billion) worth of natural gas.

As a 10-year ban on energy production in the region nears its end in January, environmentalists are squaring off against the world's major oil companies in a bitter fight about the future of the voluntary moratorium.

The outcome may set a precedent in Europe's ecology-versus-economics debate. The Netherlands aims to lead Western Europe in environmental awareness, but it also is its largest producer of natural gas.

Oil companies have held concessions in the region since the mid-1960s. They have largely refrained from using them since 1983, when they signed a pledge to not produce for 10 years. Royal Dutch/Shell and Esso, which run a joint venture, Total Compagnie Française des Pétroles, Elf and Mobil Corp. say the Wadden Sea contains up to 130

### Moving Offshore

Netherlands annual natural gas production, in billions of cubic meters.



billion cubic meters (4.59 trillion cubic feet) of gas.

"We shouldn't be surprised if that turns out to be far, far more," said Frank Duij, spokesman for the Shell/Esso joint venture Nederlandse Aardolie Maatschappij, known as NAM.

The Dutch government, which must decide on Wadden Sea drilling by the end of the summer, is by no means a disinterested party. It earned about 10 billion guilders from Dutch gas sales in 1992. In addition, it stands to earn directly from the Wadden Sea through its own energy production company, Energie Beheer Nederland or EBN.

Economic Affairs Minister

See WADDEN, Page 20

## Paris to Fund Jobs Plan With Massive Loan

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**  
**PARIS** — The French government announced Monday a massive, 40 billion franc (\$7.25 billion) borrowing to finance measures to help cut the country's unemployment, currently running at more than a 10 percent rate.

Speaking to reporters after a meeting of 19 ministers led by Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, Finance Minister Edmond Alphandier said that he hoped the jumbo loan would enable the government "to improve measures for combating unemployment in the next few months."

The state-owned television station France-2 said the bond would be convertible into shares in newly privatized companies. Officials said the bond issue was necessary because proceeds from the privatizations, which are reportedly to include the carmaker Renault and Air France, would not start flowing until later this year.

Philippe Auberger, secretary to the National Assembly's finance committee, said at a news conference that he expected the government to adopt several amendments to the 1993 budget proposed by the committee, designed to hold down unemployment, increase training and assist the construction sector. These include a measure to provide tax credits for companies for all new apprentices taken on. Mr. Auberger said. Currently only net new apprenticeships are eligible for tax credits.

The loan was announced as France cut interest rates for the seventh time in six weeks.

Traders said the rate cuts were aimed to take advantage of the strong franc, but also underlined the authorities' gathering haste to haul the economy out of recession.

The Bank of France cut its intervention rate, which sets the floor for wholesale bank rates, to 7.50 percent from 7.75 percent. It also lowered its five-to-10 day rate, which acts as an interest-rate ceiling, by a quarter-point to 8.50 percent.

Three-month bank rates have fallen to 7.25 percent from 10.5 percent on March 29, when Mr. Balladur, a conservative, took power. French three-month rates are now an eighth of a point below German three-month rates, indicating that investors no longer demand a risk premi-

um for putting their savings into France, where inflation is lower. At the same time, the franc has recovered powerfully from speculative attacks on it early in the year. It hit a six-month high of 3.3665 to the Deutsche mark on Monday.

Separately, Norway also cut interest rates for the 12th time this year, citing the recent downward

See FRANCE, Page 18

## Central Bank Sued Over BCCI's Fall

**Reuters**  
**LONDON** — The accounting firm Touche Ross, liquidator of Bank of Credit & Commerce International, said Monday it had started legal action against the Bank of England on behalf of some of the depositors.

"The depositors' writ against the Bank of England has been issued on behalf of a small number of depositors," Touche Ross said. BCCI was closed by worldwide regulators on July 5, 1991 after allegations of massive fraud.

The start of proceedings was announced before a first meeting of BCCI worldwide creditors in London on Thursday.

"We believe we have a complete defense," the Bank of England said. The British central bank has always maintained that it acted as soon as it had evidence against BCCI.

Britain's official inquiry into the BCCI closure found the Bank of England had not fully used its regulatory powers in supervising the bank.

Keith Vaz, a member of Parliament who has championed the creditors' cause, welcomed the legal action, calling it "the most significant act taken by the liquidators in the 15 months' campaign."

## EC Unemployment Seen Rising

**Reuters**  
**COPENHAGEN** — The European Community has little hope of reversing rising unemployment, currently more than 17 million and growing, until 1995 or 1996, a senior EC official said Monday.

Economic Affairs Commissioner Hennrich Christophersen said, "Even if we see a continued fall in EC interest rates, industry will probably focus on consolidation, meaning that we do not expect the unemployment curve to turn until 1995 or 1996."

Mr. Christophersen, a Dane, who is vice president of the EC Commission, was speaking at a seminar in Copenhagen arranged by the Danish financial newsletter Mandag Morgen.

Confirming an earlier EC statement, he said the commission expected zero or below-zero overall

economic growth in the Community in 1993, with hopes for positive growth in 1994.

"But it is not yet possible to see any clear signs that we are heading toward positive growth in 1994," Mr. Christophersen said.

He was critical of the idea that a general easing of fiscal policy in the Community was the right way to spur growth and create jobs. "In countries like Britain and Italy there is no room for a further easing of fiscal policy," he said.

Mr. Christophersen said the Community expected short-term German interest rates to fall further this year, by between 1.5 percent and 2 percent.

"I believe we will see a general further decline in short rates in Europe in 1993. The only uncertainty is over the pace of the fall," he said.

Officially, the commission is still

predicting a recovery next year fueled by declining interest rates and an expected upturn in business and consumer confidence, said an official who spoke on condition of anonymity. But those hopes are being scaled back because the downturn in Germany has turned out to be much deeper and longer than expected, he said.

"They have fallen off a cliff," he said. The commission probably will lower its current 1994 growth forecast of 2.5 percent by about a percentage point when it issues revised figures next month, the official said. That would be in line with declining expectations for 1993.

The EC has announced a \$5 billion European Currency Unit (\$42 billion) plan to boost faltering economic growth and reverse the rise in unemployment, which is seen as one of the bloc's biggest problems.

## Thinking Ahead

### Presidents Go Wrong on Japan

**By Reginald Dale**  
*International Herald Tribune*

**WASHINGTON** — Almost unbelievably, Bill Clinton is falling into the same trap that ensnared George Bush in his disastrous election-year trip to Tokyo to demand "jobs, jobs, jobs" for American workers, the low point of his presidency.

As he forces an ill-advised showdown with Tokyo with demands for "managed" trade, Mr. Clinton is doing just what Mr. Bush was rightly lambasted for doing early in 1992 — narrowing the U.S.-Japan relationship to the single issue of commerce.

Mr. Bush made that mistake, against his own better judgment, in the false belief that it would help get him re-elected. Mr. Clinton is making it because he naively thinks that in the post-Cold War era he can neglect broader strategic issues in dealing with Japan and focus on economics alone.

Unfortunately, Mr. Clinton's error is likely to be much more costly for everyone else. If he goes ahead with demands for numerical targets for Japanese trade, he risks sabotaging the free-market principles that have generated unprecedented world prosperity in the half-century since World War II.

But that's not all. Among the astonishing contradictions of Mr. Clinton's approach:

- He is allowing the Japanese to pose as the champions of free trade, for the first time ever.
- He is on the verge of taking a big step toward Communist-style trade quotas while urging Russia to open its economy to market forces.
- He is antagonizing Japan at the same time as he is asking it to dig deep into its pockets to help Russia — a request Tokyo already deeply resents.
- He is jeopardizing the success of July's economic summit meeting of the Group of Seven industrial powers in Tokyo, although his administration says it wants to revitalize G-7 cooperation under American leadership.
- He is risking a split with free-trading allies in the Group of Seven, notably Germany, Britain and Canada, who for the first time ever are inclined to side with Japan against the United States on a major trade issue.
- By his example, he is encouraging protection-

ist forces in France to resist the dismantling of trade-distorting European Community policies, particularly in agriculture, at a time when Washington says it wants a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round.

- By clumsily putting pressure on Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa he is strengthening the Japanese leader's domestic political support, allowing him better to resist that pressure.
- He is denying the U.S. economy the benefits of open competition when it should be restructuring to meet the challenges of the North American Free Trade Area, which he supports, and turn the tables on Japan in the 21st century.

Even more astonishingly, the administration does not seem to have thought through what it will do if, as is to be hoped and expected, Japan rejects its demands. And it is asking Japan to rig the system against itself at a time when, as the Japanese are the first to point out, Japanese industry is becoming both less competitive and more subject to such Western-style pressures as demands from consumers, shareholders and organized labor.

Of course Japan is not perfect. It still restricts access to its market for goods and investment, and it should be relating faster — the best way of easing its trade surplus. But on managed trade Japan is right and Mr. Clinton is wrong.

Mr. Clinton should instead be devoting his energy to encouraging Americans to save more and spend less, and to real, long-term reductions in the U.S. budget deficit. Particularly at a time of international recession, he should be thinking up ways to combat protectionism, not encourage it.

More fundamentally, Mr. Clinton should be concentrating on how to create a new, more equal strategic partnership with Japan at a time when Asia is gaining economic and political clout and China is heading toward superpower status. He should be preparing for the day when the Japanese will no longer be the sole representatives of Asia at the world's top table but will still be natural allies of the West if they are correctly treated.

Even though he blundered in Tokyo, George Bush basically understood that.

## Soviet Industry Dons Civvies

### Military Suppliers Now Making Fridges, Fishing Poles

**By Erik Ipsen**  
*International Herald Tribune*  
**BIRMINGHAM, England** — Iakov Stekol, deputy chief engineer at the Moscow Plant for Electromechanical Apparatus, was promoting his newest product, the "Penguin" home ice-cream maker.

"We used to make gyroscopes for rockets and spacecraft," he said. "Now we make different stuff."

Mr. Stekol's appliance was on display Monday at a trade show here called "Conversion '93." The focus of the show is the sometimes-surprising new uses to which the former Soviet republics are trying to put the remnants of the country's vast military-industrial complex.

Boris Pankin, Russia's ambassador to Britain, billed the show as a display of "technologies developed by the notorious defense industry and hidden from the world for 40 years."

In the cavernous Hall No. 6 of Birmingham's National Exhibition Center here, the emphasis was overwhelmingly on butter, not guns. The rows of refrigerator-freezers and hi-tech fire extinguishers spoke of an industry heading for the consumer market at a gallop.

Over at the Atomic Energy stand, Leonid Kuznetsov, director of the Ural Electromechanical

Plant, was happily talking up his group's ability to churn out compact disks at prices that undercut those in the West by a third. Pointing to a display including such titles as "Slavonic Farewell" and "Masterpieces of Russian Orthodox Music," the 55-year-old engineer said, "Times are difficult and we hope to transform production of our plant from weapons to newer products."

One of the most striking examples of that transformation was the exhibition's literal centerpiece, a 5.2-meter (17-foot) sailboat that towered over the other exhibits at the

aviation industry stand. Only the sleek aerodynamic contour of its odd white hull and the fact that it is made of aluminum, not the fiberglass favored in the West, hinted at the identity of its manufacturer. It is made by Tupolev, once the Soviet Union's answer to Boeing Co.

"The equipment intended for making missiles and airplanes is not very intensively used right now," explained Vladimir Emelyanov, director of the Tupolev Design Bureau. That not only freed up plant space and labor, but in Tupolev's case, it freed up capital.

See PEACE, Page 19

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Messrs. Shareholders are invited to attend on Wednesday, June 2, 1993 at 11 a.m. in Great Britain: S.G. Warburg and Co., Lazard Brothers and Co., at 89 route d'Esch in Luxembourg the

**Annual Shareholders' General Meeting**

with the following agenda:

1. Directors' Report.
2. Statutory Auditors' Report.
3. Approval of the Consolidated and Parent Financial Statements for the year ended December 31, 1992.
4. Appropriation of 1992 net income.
5. Discharge of Directors and Statutory Auditors.
6. Directors' and Statutory Auditors' fees for the year ended December 31, 1992.
7. Election of the members of the Board of Directors and Statutory Auditors.
8. Authorization of the Board of Directors to repurchase Company's shares.

In order to be able to attend the meeting, holders of bearer shares will have to deposit their bearer shares five clear days before the date of the meeting, at the Registered Office of the company or with one of the following banks:

- in Luxembourg: Banque Internationale à Luxembourg;
- in Italy: all the leading banks;
- in Switzerland: Crèdit Suisse, Banca Commerciale Italiana;
- in France: Lazard Frères & Co.;
- in the Federal Republic of Germany: Commerzbank;
- in Great Britain: S.G. Warburg and Co., Lazard Brothers and Co.;
- in the Netherlands: Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank;
- in Belgium: Banque Bruxelles Lambert.

Holders of registered shares will have to inform the Company within the same time lapse of their intention to attend the meeting.

The shareholders are requested to comply with article 20 of the articles of incorporation.

Shareholders may, on and after May 25, 1993, inspect at the registered office of the company the annual report and the text of the proposed resolutions.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

### CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

May 24

Cross Rates	U.S. Dollar	Japanese Yen	British Pound	Swiss Franc	Deutsche Mark	French Franc	Italian Lira	Spanish Peseta
Amsterdam	1.66	110	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36
Berlin	1.48	103	1.21	1.21	1.21	1.21	1.21	1.21
London	1.00	149	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Paris	6.55	493	5.48	5.48	5.48	5.48	5.48	5.48
Tokyo	108	100	7.75	7.75	7.75	7.75	7.75	7.75

Eurocurrency Deposits	1 month	3 months	6 months	1 year
Dollar	3 1/2%	3 3/4%	3 3/4%	3 3/4%
D-Mark	7 1/2%	7 1/2%	7 1/2%	7 1/2%
Swiss Franc	5 1/2%	5 1/2%	5 1/2%	5 1/2%
French Franc	5 1/2%	5 1/2%	5 1/2%	5 1/2%
Italian Lira	7 1/2%	7 1/2%	7 1/2%	7 1/2%

Key Money Rates	3-month	6-month	1-year
United States	6.00%	6.00%	6.00%
Germany	7.75%	7.75%	7.75%
France	7.75%	7.75%	7.75%
Japan	5.75%	5.75%	5.75%
Switzerland	5.00%	5.00%	5.00%
Italy	7.75%	7.75%	7.75%
Spain	7.75%	7.75%	7.75%
UK	7.75%	7.75%	7.75%

**REPUBLIC DE PANAMA**  
INTEROCEANIC REGION AUTHORITY  
MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND ECONOMIC POLICY (MIPPE)  
PREINVESTMENT FUND

**ANNOUNCEMENT**

**PUBLIC COMPETITION FOR PREQUALIFICATION OF CONSULTING FIRMS TO CARRY OUT THE STUDIES, REGIONAL PLAN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTEROCEANIC REGION AND GENERAL PLAN FOR USE, CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANAL AREA.**

An invitation is hereby extended to national and foreign consulting firms, of member countries of the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), interested in participating in the prequalification competition, to submit the information that is required for the prequalification competition, in accordance with the terms of the REGIONAL PLAN and the GENERAL PLAN, as defined by Law No. 5 of February 25, 1982, by which the INTEROCEANIC REGION AUTHORITY of Panama is created and the measures on the Canal Area are adopted.

The firms must be qualified in the fields of economic analysis, regional planning, natural resources management, urban land use planning, development of maritime and port related activities, engineering, programming, infrastructure investment development, evaluation of military installations for civil use, real estate appraisal and related skills.

The interested firms may obtain the document containing the Bases for Prequalification and its Addendum No. 1 in the office of the Interoceanic Region Authority, located in the building at No. 726-1, Calle Balboa, Carreteramiento de Ancon, Panama City, after 9:00 a.m. on May 7, 1993. This Base Document will cost \$1,000 (Ten Hundred and 00/100).

The information requested must be submitted no later than 10:00 a.m., June 22, 1993, at the above-mentioned office.

The Government of Panama shall be under no obligation to give any explanation for the exclusion of any firm in the list of pre-qualified firms, shall not delay any cost incurred by the interested firm in submitting the information, and it reserves the right to amend, cancel or declare this invitation void.

**INTEROCEANIC REGION AUTHORITY**  
Adolfo De Obarrío

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# Krupp Posts 1992 Loss As Steel Orders Sag

By Karina Robinson  
Special to the Herald Tribune  
MADRID — When Spain goes to the polls June 6, the conservative opposition People's Party is an even-money bet to emerge as the leader of a governing coalition, according to the polls.

If the party does oust the ruling Socialists of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, its economy minister is likely to be Rodrigo Rato. No. 2 on the PP's electoral list for Madrid. In an interview, he gave his vision of Spain 10 years from now under a conservative government.

"Spain would come out with a smaller public sector, a political economy centered more on companies and with faster employment creation," he said.

Unemployment has become one of the major election issues. On May 13, the announcement of the third peseta devaluation within a year overshadowed the publication of official statistics pointing to record unemployment of more than 21 percent. Only 1.9 percent of the unemployed have any sort of a technical education.

"We want to make a profound change in the field of professional formation," Mr. Rato said. "There have been nine different professional formation programs in the last 10 years, which shows that none of them have been very useful."

"We want professional formation to be more closely associated with companies, so that within the apprenticeship programs they can obtain qualifications recognized by the Ministry of Education and the market," he added.

# A Conservative Vision of Spain's Future

added. "The German model is, in this case, a very interesting one."

His party would also make the payment of an unemployment subsidy dependent on professional training courses.

Another major problem facing Spain is inflation of almost 6 percent. This is caused by a number of structural problems that the Socialists failed to address in the good years.

"Nobody believes the numbers we are given," Rodrigo Rato

when Spain had just joined the European Community and growth rates were far above the Community average. Now, with the country in the midst of a Europe-wide recession, forcing change through is a Herculean task.

The fault lies with inflexibilities in the labor and services sectors, economists say. Companies in both the private and public sector are overstaffed, but the cost of laying off workers is such that restructuring the work force is extremely difficult.

Social-security costs are high, and this year already added around 3 percent to wage rates that are coming in at an average 5 percent. All of this provides a disincentive to hiring workers, and the PP would favor temporary contracts.

These generally last for six months, are often renewed and have proved popular with employers, less popular with the unions.

Mr. Rato also points the finger of responsibility for inflationary pressures at service sectors like energy and telecommunications.

"Energy and telephones are more expensive in Spain than abroad," he said. "Many of the rigidities in the fixing of prices in the service sector come from the bad application of competition law. There is a huge field in which the Competition Tribunal has to act: it should study and penalize collusion, cartel and monopolies that damage the interests of the consumer."

As for the deficit, 3.3 percent of gross domestic product in 1992, Mr. Rato promises a public audit. "Nobody believes the numbers we are given: the ministry, the central bank and the government all say different things," he said.

As one way of addressing budget-busting corruption in tendering for public contracts, the People's Party says it will open up projects to public tender.

It plans to go ahead with the many infrastructure plans announced by the Socialists in the last few months. Spain still has huge needs for roads, airports and trains. But Mr. Rato thinks the 1992 investment for the Seville Exposition and the Barcelona Olympics, much of which went on infrastructure, was not well spent.

He points out that many of the projects cost double the original estimates and says the excessive amounts spent are partly to blame for Spain's recession.

"If you gave a party in your house, and invited everyone to help themselves to not one, not even two, portions of caviar, but to a 1-kilogram tin, and took them all on a private plane to the Bahamas," he said, "then next year when your banks take away your credit cards, there lies your explanation."

# U.K. to Sell All of Its Stake in BT

LONDON — The British Treasury said Monday it would sell "substantially all" its 22 percent stake in British Telecommunications PLC to raise approximately £5 billion (\$7.73 billion).

The Treasury said the sale of the third and final tranche of the government's holding in BT would take place in mid-July.

The Treasury said the sale will be of "substantially the entire government holding... subject to demand and market conditions."

The prospectus on what the government has called the BT-3 sale will be published on June 29.

At least half the shares to be sold will be offered to retail investors, the Treasury said. The British public-offer price will be at a predetermined discount to the international offer price and the shares will be payable in three instalments.

Special arrangements will be made for existing BT shareholders and BT employees to buy shares under BT-3.

The Treasury said that institutional investors who increased their shareholdings in BT between the close of business last Friday and the close of the offer period would be given more favorable treatment in allocation.

In addition, the Treasury said the retail tender included special arrangements for tax-free personal equity plans.

BT-3 will be structured as a non-underwritten global offer using an innovative global syndicate structure to market the offer.

"The marketing campaign for the BT-3 share offer promises to be exciting and innovative," said Stephen Dorrell, financial secretary to the Treasury. "Our intention is to maximize proceeds for the taxpayer while further widening and deepening share ownership."

# Investor's Europe

Frankfurt DAX 1992	London FTSE 100 Index 1992	Paris CAC 40 1992
1500	2300	2100
1700	2500	2300
1900	2700	2500
2100	2900	2700
2300	3100	2900
2500	3300	3100
2700	3500	3300
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3700	4500	4300
3900	4700	4500
4100	4900	4700
4300	5100	4900
4500	5300	5100
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5100	5900	5700
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9500	10300	10100
9700	10500	10300
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41700	42500	42300
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# SPORTS BASEBALL

## Red-Hot Giants Walk Over Reds

**The Associated Press**  
The San Francisco Giants, who have been setting a hot pace in the National League West, stroled to their 30th victory this season.

Pinch-hitter Todd Benzing walked with the bases loaded against reliever Greg Cadaret in the bottom of the ninth inning Sunday to beat the Cincinnati Reds, 3-2.

The Giants have won 11 of their last 13 games, while the Reds have lost six of their last seven.

Barry Bonds and Matt Williams

Astros 9, Padres 7: Craig Biggio had two homers among his four hits and drove in three runs as Houston won in San Diego to end a five-game losing streak.

Jeff Bagwell added three hits and two RBIs, raising his average to .379, as the Astros produced a season-high 16 hits.

Dodgers 4, Rockies 0: Ramon Martinez pitched a three-hitter for his first shutout in almost a year, and Los Angeles beat visiting Colorado for its sixth straight victory. Eric Karros broke out of a 2-for-36 drought with a tie-breaking RBI single to help the Dodgers sweep the three-game series.

The Dodgers' sixth straight triumph matched their longest winning streak of last season. They have won 13 of their last 16 at home and eight in a row there, their longest such streak since 1986.

In earlier games, reports on which appeared in some Monday editions of the International Herald Tribune:

Cardinals 4, Pirates 3: Lee Smith blew a ninth-inning lead for the second time in three days, but St. Louis rallied twice in the final two innings to win in Pittsburgh on Rod Brewer's sacrifice fly in the 10th. The Pirates' rookie Kevin Young had hit a tying homer in the ninth.

Marlins 4, Cubs 2: Jack Armstrong pitched seven strong innings and drove in two runs with a two-out, bases-loaded single as Florida beat visiting Chicago. Armstrong led off with a single and scored in the Marlins' two-run seventh.

Phillies 14, Expos 7: Darren Daulton drove in four runs to help Philadelphia stop visiting Montreal for a split in the four-game series.

### NL ROUNDUP

each hit home runs for the Giants. Robby Thompson extended his hitting streak to 16 games with a leadoff single in the ninth off reliever Bill Landrum. He went to second on Will Clark's sacrifice with Cadaret pitching.

Williams was walked intentionally to bring up Bonds, who walked on four pitches to lead the bases with one out, then Benzing walked on a 3-1 pitch.

Trailing 2-1 in the eighth, the Reds tied against starter John Burkett. Reggie Sanders led off with a single and went to second on Dan Wilson's sacrifice. After pinch-hitter Cecil Epply walked, Juan Samuel drove in Sanders with a single off the right-field wall.

Williams led off the seventh with his 14th home run and 40th RBI of the season — both league-leading totals — to break a 1-1 tie.

The Reds' starter, John Smiley, went seven innings and gave up two runs on the homers.

"But besides that, I only gave up two other hits to a team that's hitting the cover off the ball," Smiley said.



George Brett broke up a double play, and Rich Amaral, but the Royals fell to the Mariners.

## Hitting All 4s, Leafs Are 2-2

**The Associated Press**  
The Toronto Maple Leafs seem to own Game 4 in the National Hockey League playoffs.

They lost two of the first three games in both the Norris Division semifinals and final before coming back to win each series, each time taking Game 4.

They beat the Los Angeles Kings, 4-2, on Sunday to even the Campbell Conference final at two games each.

"We play best when we're scared," said the Maple Leafs' coach, Pat Burns.

Rookie Mike Eastwood had a goal and an assist as four Leafs scored.

They reduced the penalties that had plagued them and won with little help from their big

### STANLEY CUP

guns of Doug Gilmour and Dave Andreychuk.

Wayne Gretzky moved within a goal of another NHL record when he tied Gordie Howe with his 85th goal in regular-season and playoff games. But the Leafs shut down the Kings' freewheeling offense and silenced the sellout crowd with three first-period goals in a game that lacked the intensity of the previous three.

Los Angeles rallied briefly in the final period on Rob Blake's power-play goal with nine minutes to go, but Toronto goaltender Felix Potvin made several key saves in the last minutes.

Toronto's Bob Rouse scored on a rebound 2:30 into the game on assists by Gilmour and Jamie Macoun. Four minutes later, Eastwood scored his first NHL playoff goal.

Gretzky, the NHL's career scoring leader, cut the Kings' deficit to 2-1 with an unassisted power-play goal midway through the first.

He is the NHL's leading playoff scorer with 104 goals, four more than teammate Jari Kurri. Gretzky extended his scoring streak to 12 games, best in the playoffs and a club record. Gilmour leads Gretzky in this season's playoff scoring, 29 points to 28.

The Leafs made it 4-1, essentially ending the game, with a goal 2:34 into the second, when the Kings' Tomas Sandstrom inadvertently cleared the puck onto the stick of Rob Pearson, who buried it into a nearly empty net.

### SIDELINES

## Bans on Krabbe, Ngugi Continued

**STUTTGART (AP)** — The suspensions on German sprinter Katrin Krabbe and Kenyan runner John Ngugi were continued Monday by the IAAF, effectively preventing them from competing at the world outdoor athletics championships Aug. 14-22 in Stuttgart.

The sport's governing body made no decision on U.S. sprinter Butch Reynolds, the 400-meter world record holder who is involved in a legal battle with the IAAF over a previous doping ban.

Ngugi's four-year ban for refusing to submit to a drug test had been revoked by the Kenyan federation. The IAAF council decided to send the case back to the Kenyan federation, asking the national body to reimpose the four-year ban, said Idris Gyulai, the IAAF general secretary.

The council also asked its legal experts to further study the case of Krabbe and two other German sprinters, Grit Breuer and Mammula Derr. "The doping commission was convinced that there was a doping violation," Gyulai said.

## Reds Fire Perez, Hire Davey Johnson

**CINCINNATI (AP)** — Tony Perez was fired Monday by the Cincinnati Reds, 44 games into his first season as a manager, and replaced by Davey Johnson, whom the New York Mets fired as their manager in 1990.

The Reds, with a 20-24 record, also fired third base coach Dave Bristol and pitching coach Larry Rothschild. An hour later, first base coach Ron Oester, a friend of Perez's, resigned.

The Reds said that Perez, one of the most popular members of the Big Red Machine in the 1970s, won't have another position with the club. Johnson, 50, was interviewed for the job of managing the Reds last fall and was hired as a consultant for the team in December.

## Simpson Replaces Dineen for Flyers

**PHILADELPHIA (AP)** — The Philadelphia Flyers named Terry Simpson Monday as their head coach to replace Bill Dineen, who will remain with the NHL club as a scout.

Simpson, 49, was an assistant with the Winnipeg Jets the past three seasons and is a former head coach of the New York Islanders. Dineen had been the Flyers' coach since December 1991.

## 500 Race Loses Indy Car Champion

**INDIANAPOLIS** — For the first time in the history of the Indianapolis 500, the defending Indy car champion failed to qualify for the race.

Bobby Rahal, the three-time series champion and 1992 driver of the year, was bumped from the 500 field Sunday by Eddie Cheever. Cheever and Didier Theys drove their way into the field of 33 drivers who will start the race next Sunday.

## For the Record

Grant Waite, a second-year pro from New Zealand, shot 1-under-par 70 in the final round of the Kemper Open to beat veteran Tom Kite by one stroke for his first victory on the U.S. PGA Tour. (AP)

## Bell Saves Chisox From Sweep

**The Associated Press**  
George Bell was too much for the Oakland Athletics.

Having hit a two-run homer to put the Chicago White Sox back in the game, he added a decisive triple in the 10th inning as the White Sox averted a weekend sweep with a 5-4 victory Sunday.

Bell's game-winning hit off reliever Rich Gossage was a line drive to the right-field corner with one out. It scored Joey Coxa, who had walked to start the inning, from first base.

"It was a fine piece of hitting on his part," Gossage said. "He fought off a couple of really good pitches and then I tried to go away, and he hit it."

The White Sox trailed 4-1, when Bell homered in the eighth. Then Ozzie Guillen's sacrifice fly tied the game in the ninth.

Bell's eighth homer came with two outs, scoring Tim Lincecum, who doubled to start the eighth.

In the ninth, Lance Johnson drew a one-out walk and took third on Ron Karkovics' single to set the stage for Guillen.

Dave Henderson spoiled Wilson Alvarez's no-hit bid with a homer. Then Henderson — whose sixth-inning homer was his third in as many days — got the third hit of the game off Alvarez in the eighth.

Terry Steinbach's fourth homer made it 4-1.

Alvarez gave up four hits and four runs, while walking six and striking out a career-high eight in eight innings.

Earlier in the day, the White Sox ended their experiment with Dave Stieb, requesting waivers on the veteran pitcher to give him his unconditional release.

Stieb, 35, signed to a one-year, \$300,000 free-agent contract during the off-season after an injury-plagued last couple years with Toronto. He began the season on the disabled list before rehabilitation in the minors. He was activated April 28 and struggled to a 1-3 record with a 6.04 ERA in four starts.

Mariners 10, Royals 7: Lou Pinella won his 500th game as a major league manager as Rich Amaral singled home the lead run in the ninth and Ken Griffey Jr. tripled in two more as the Mariners won the lopsided game.

"Thank God I got my 500th before I got my 500th loss," Pinella said. "It's a relatively small milestone."

Angels 6, Rangers 2: Rookie Tim Lincecum drove in four runs and Ju-

### AL ROUNDUP

lio Valera, in his first start, held back Texas to four hits for six innings as California salvaged the finale of a three-game series.

Chili Davis hit an RBI single. Salomon a two-run double and Torey Lovullo a run-scoring single off Todd Burns in a four-run third. Salomon hit his seventh homer in the fifth and added an RBI single in the seventh.

Red Sox 5, Yankees 2: Mo Vaughn hit two home runs off Jimmy Key, raising his average against lefties to .395, as Boston beat visiting New York.

In earlier games, reports on which appeared in some Monday editions of the International Herald Tribune:

Tigers 4, Indians 2: Mickey Tettleton hit a tie-breaking homer over the glove of leaping center fielder Kenny Lofton in the sixth in Cleveland as Detroit won for the fifth time in six games and 10th of its last 13.

Brewers 9, Orioles 1: Kevin Reimer's bases-loaded single keyed a three-run third inning against Fernando Valenzuela, and Milwaukee won its first road series of the year.

Reimer went 3-for-3 with the bases loaded and drove in eight runs during the three-game series. Valenzuela, who had been pitching well of late, allowed eight hits and five runs in 5 1/2 innings.

### SCOREBOARD

#### Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
East Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Detroit	27	15	.643
New York	24	19	.558
Toronto	24	19	.558
Boston	23	20	.535
Milwaukee	18	22	.449
Baltimore	17	22	.435
Cleveland	17	22	.435
West Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Chicago	24	17	.585
California	22	18	.550
Texas	23	19	.546
Kansas City	20	21	.484
Seattle	17	23	.427
Oakland	17	23	.427
Minnesota	16	23	.409

NATIONAL LEAGUE			
East Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
Philadelphia	29	13	.690
Montreal	24	19	.558
St. Louis	22	20	.524
Chicago	21	20	.512
Pittsburgh	20	21	.488
Cincinnati	19	22	.462
Florida	19	22	.462
New York	18	23	.438
West Division			
Team	W	L	Pct.
San Francisco	30	15	.667
Atlanta	26	19	.576
Houston	25	18	.579
Los Angeles	20	24	.452
Chicago	20	24	.452
Cincinnati	19	24	.438
Colorado	12	32	.273

#### Sunday's Line Scores

AMERICAN LEAGUE			
Minnesota	0	10	0
Toronto	0	10	0
Chicago	0	10	0
St. Louis	0	10	0
Seattle	0	10	0
San Francisco	0	10	0
Los Angeles	0	10	0
Philadelphia	0	10	0
San Diego	0	10	0
Washington	0	10	0
New York	0	10	0
Baltimore	0	10	0
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# SPORTS FRENCH

## Starks, Grounding Air Jordan, Shoots Knicks to Victory

By Clifton Brown  
New York Times Staff Writer  
NEW YORK — Guarding Michael Jordan during a playoff game intimidates some players in the National Basketball Association. It inspired John Starks.

With his defense giving Jordan fits and his 3-point shooting turning back the Chicago Bulls in the fourth quarter, Starks led the New York Knicks to a 98-90 victory in Game 1 of the Eastern Conference championship series Sunday.

## Like Magic: Another No. 1 In the Draft

NEW YORK — The Orlando Magic, with the most amazing display of luck in the history of the National Basketball Association draft lottery, pulled off a 1-in-66 chance Sunday to draw the No. 1 pick in the June 30 draft.

If some major salary-cap problems can be worked out, the Magic will probably take Michigan's Chris Webber and could quickly become one of the league's best teams.

With last year's first pick, the Magic took Shaquille O'Neal. But if Orlando's good luck continued, so, too, did the Washington Bulls' streak of bad luck.

Asked what had inspired his team, Ewing said: "It's do-or-die. I guess we're afraid of losing."

Wilkens Quits Cavaliers  
Lenny Wilkens, the second-winningest coach in NBA history, quit the Cleveland Cavaliers on Monday in the wake of another playoff failure against the Bulls.

With less than a minute left, B.J. Armstrong's jumper in the lane made it 83-91. Massa missed two free throws. But Jordan's 25-foot 3-point shot over the Bulls' defense...

period, when he usually dominates. Starks got 25 points, setting a team playoff record by making five 3-point shots. Three came during a five-minute fourth-quarter barrage that helped the Knicks build an 88-79 lead with four minutes to play.

"I don't even remember when Starks was in the CBA, and I don't remember when he first came into the league," said Jordan, referring to the minor league Continental Basketball Association. "But I know he's here now."

Starks had help. Patrick Ewing grabbed a playoff-high 17 rebounds to go with his 25 points. Charles Smith (17 points) was aggressive, giving New York another low-post option. Charles Oakley (14 rebounds) was a inside force, as the Knicks whipped the Bulls, 48-28, in rebounding.

"A lot of players say they're going to try and stop Michael Jordan, but there's no stopping him," Starks said. "I just tried to make him take tough shots."

Starks dislocated the last finger on his left, or non-shooting hand, in the fourth quarter. He left briefly to have a splint put on, but said after the game that he didn't expect the injury to hamper him.

Starks led the Knicks, New York started the fourth quarter with an 11-4 run, turning a 72-69 deficit into an 83-73 edge with 7 1/2 minutes left. Starks' first 3-pointer of the quarter made it a 9-point lead, then Ewing, with a pick, freed Starks for another 3-pointer and it was 83-73. Starks' final 3-pointer gave New York an 88-79 lead with 4:20 to go.

The game's most controversial play came with 6:42 left in the third quarter, when Scottie Pippen (24 points) fouled Doc Rivers from behind as he went up for a lay-up.

Pippen got a piece of the ball, but he also sent Rivers flying out of bounds, where he hit his head on the floor when he landed.

At Pippen walked back to the Bulls' bench, the normally placid Smith bumped him in the chest. Pippen took exception and charged after Smith before being restrained by several teammates.

But the foul picked up the Knicks, who then trailed by 61-57. They went on an 11-3 run for a 68-64 lead, and never trailed again.

## Top Seeds Begin the Dance in Paris With Waltzes



Steffi Graf was surrounded by three security guards as she came onto the court for her first match at Roland Garros.

## Results From the First Round of the French Open

**MEN'S SINGLES**  
David Prinosil, Germany, def. Todd Martin, United States, 7-6 (7-5), 6-3, 7-6 (7-6); Alex O'Brien, United States, def. Glenister, South Africa, 6-2, 6-3, 6-2; Jordi Arrese, Spain, def. Alexander Volkov, Russia, 6-2, 6-4, 7-6 (7-5); Carlos Costa, Spain, def. Jose Krcisek, Hungary, 7-6 (7-5), 6-7 (5-7), 6-4, 6-4; Boris Becker, Germany, def. Nicolas Pietrangeli, France, 6-3, 6-2, 6-4; Michael Wildberger, United States, def. Anders Jarryd, Sweden, 6-3, 6-4, 6-4; Petr Korda, Czech Republic, def. Lars Johansson, Sweden, 7-6 (7-5), 6-4, 7-6 (7-5); Aaron Krickorian, United States, def. Robbie Weiss, United States, 6-4, 6-4, 7-6 (7-5); Kenneth Carlsen, Denmark, def. Emilio Sanchez, Spain, 7-6 (7-5), 6-3, 6-4; Richard Krajicek, Netherlands, def. Christian Bergstrom, Sweden, 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-5), 6-4; Karol Kovacic, Czech Republic, def. Rostislav Kramlich, Austria, 7-6 (7-5), 6-4, 6-2; Stefan Edberg, Sweden, def. Marcello Pilicchio, Italy, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4; Olivier Delaunay, France, def. Gilbert Schaller, Austria, 6-2, 6-4, 6-4, 6-2.

**WOMEN'S SINGLES**  
Steffi Graf (1) Germany, def. Cestine Baccanin, Sweden, 7-6 (7-5), 6-2; Ines Gorrochategui, Argentina, def. Zina Garrison-Jackson, U.S., 6-1, 6-1; Kimberly Po, U.S., def. Francesca Schiavone, Italy, 6-3, 6-2; Nathalie Tauziat, Italy, def. Mikaela Fredriksson, Sweden, 6-1, 6-2; Arantxa Sanchez Vicario (2), Spain, def. Monica Klesner, Netherlands, 7-6 (7-5), 6-2; Lori McNeil, United States, def. Bertha Palko-Villalta, Argentina, 6-4, 6-2; Laura Gildemeister, Peru, def. Gail Fermanis, United States, 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-5); Jennifer Seiner, United States, def. Gloria Piccinini, Italy, 6-4, 6-4; Arina Maria Fedotkin, Hungary, def. Corine Luccarelli, France, 6-3, 6-2; Sandra Wassermann, Belgium, def. Kaja Pienkowiak, Italy, 6-2, 7-6 (7-5); Louise Allen, United States, def. Floro Parfetti, Italy, 6-1, 6-3; Andrea Strnadova, Czech Republic, def. Anastasia Gerasimov, Belarus, 6-1, 6-2; Heidi McCallister, Australia, def. Mirko Betsch, Germany, 6-3, 6-3; Sabine Hack (1), Germany, def. Shoshana Rottler, Netherlands, 6-3, 6-4; Giner Herrerias, United States, def. Silke Meier, Germany, 6-1, 6-4, 6-2; Anke Huber (8), Germany, def. Sora Pitkovaik, France, 7-6 (7-5), 6-3; Leticia Meskhi, Georgia, def. Sylvie Trancy, France, 6-2; Pascale Paradis-Naveau, France, def. Marieta Medvedeva, Ukraine, 7-6 (7-5); Nikoleta Pietrangeli, Italy, def. Karina Kachwala, Germany, 6-4, 6-4; Nicole Pietrangeli, France, def. Michelle Janssen-Lui, Australia, 6-1, 7-5; Ros Wistefors, South Africa, def. Veronika Marinova, Germany, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4; Wilfried Prasad, Germany, def. Corne Van Buren, 6-4, 6-4, 6-1.

## For Soccer's Dream Team, Reality Turned Into a Nightmare

By Ian Thomsen  
International Herald Tribune  
PARIS — Michael, Marco and Lary had departed on the chartered luxury jet out of Barcelona. In their place, up stepped Marco, Jean-Pierre and Rudi ... and Gianluigi ... and Franco and Frank ...

was ended by Parma in March. It had to end, of course, but the prevailing malaise was not anticipated. Coach Fabio Capello, the former Milan winger who has succeeded in dispersing one ball like so many leaves and fishes, has suggested that Milan's exhaustion is less physical than mental. The team's owner, Silvio Berlusconi, in his zeal to invent a club that might dwarf the national teams and force Europe to create a new super league, imported more than \$60 million in new talent last summer to a team that had just finished an undefeated league campaign in Italy.

By Nick Stout  
International Herald Tribune  
PARIS — Jim Courier made the most of a muggy afternoon here Monday with a solid triumph over Roberto Azar, 27, a low-ranked Argentine whose misfortune it was to have drawn the defending champion for the first round, thus virtually guaranteeing that his appearance in the French Open tennis tournament would be brief.

Playing each other for the first time, the world's No. 2 and No. 94 ranked players camped comfortably at their respective baselines for much of the contest and scouted each other out. Courier called it a "match of patience," and after two hours and 15 minutes the job was done, 6-3, 6-3, 6-3.

"It was a good way to get into this tournament," said Courier, who has now won 15 consecutive matches over three tournaments. "I had to fight. He didn't miss many balls."

Boris Becker could not say the same of his hopelessly nervous opponent. Becker took only 85 minutes to dispose of a 17-year-old Frenchman named Nicolas Escude, 6-0, 6-3, 6-0.

Escude, a wild-card entrant in his first Grand Slam tournament, seemed awed by the Roland Garros experience, which, thanks to his having drawn Becker, took place at Center Court.

"I never played someone so big and so strong," Escude told French television afterward, still a little dazed. "I would have preferred a smaller court."

Becker, who had barely heard of Escude, said he had asked the French player Cedric Pioline for some information on his compatriot.

"Bar he didn't know much either," Becker conceded.

Becker, seeded fourth, was sympathetic. "It's very difficult for a young Frenchman to play his first Roland Garros against Boris Becker at Center Court," he said. "Anybody with brains would have been nervous."

In a determined effort to capture the one Grand Slam title to elude him, Becker has been a regular fixture on the spring circuit.

"I've played five clay-court tournaments before this," he said. "And each time I played a little better. And after the way I played today, of course, I'm very pleased."

Becker noted that nobody since Rod Laver has taken trophies from each of the Slams. Even Bjorn Borg, he pointed out, never managed to win the U.S. Open.

"Thank God I'm only 25," he said. "I have another few years to give it a try."

Stefan Edberg, the No. 3 seed, who like Becker has won all the Slams except the French, defeated the Marcello Filippini of Uruguay, 6-3, 6-4, 6-6, 6-4.

"Today was an important match for me," Edberg said when asked to speak realistically about his chances of winning here. "Filippini is a good clay-court. But when I'm happy about it is that I was serving really well."

Edberg's serve-and-volley game is not best suited to clay, but it worked well enough here in 1989 to put him in the final, where he lost to Michael Chang. He wants to win, of course, but he was reluctant to call the French title an obsession.

"That's a strong word to use," Edberg said. "It's something I'd like to win. It would make things more complete. I've come close once. So we'll see what happens."

Steffi Graf, who stands to regain the women's No. 1 ranking here, but who insists she doesn't care, made a routine debut. So did the No. 2 women's seed, Arantxa Sanchez Vicario, who eliminated Monique Klesner, an 18-year-old Dutchwoman in her first Grand Slam, 6-3, 7-6 (7-1).

Graf beat Cecilia Dahlman, 7-6 (7-4), 6-1, frustrating the 26-year-old Swede's third attempt to get past the first round at Roland Garros Stadium. Dahlman showed a little sparkle as she took Graf to a tiebreaker, but it was just a matter of the German's adjusting to the circumstances.

"She played well and I really didn't expect it," Graf said of the woman she beat once before, in 1990. Graf spoke of having been frustrated with her service return and speculated that the practice pace over the last few days may have been too strenuous.

"I'm going to take it a little slower," she said.

With her nemesis, Monica Seles, recuperating a continent away, Graf may well walk out of Paris as the top-ranked women's player in the world. But she obviously wants to play that day.

"Over the years I've said that the rankings don't mean much to me," Graf insisted. "And that's the way I feel now. I don't really care what happens."

Just as Graf was entertaining the smattering of Center Court spectators who made it to the I.A.M. start, a heavyweight billing outside drew a standing-room-only crowd.

The attractions were Thomas Muster and Horst Skoff, two Austrians who sometimes make an effort at Davis Cup teamwork for the sake of their country, but, in real life, barely tolerate each other with civility. On Monday, they landed on opposite sides of the tennis court, and it was Muster, seeded No. 16, who prevailed, 6-6, 6-3, 6-4, 6-2. They shook hands at the net, but did not speak.

Did Muster know that people were expecting a confrontation?

"I don't see why there should be a clash," he said. "We just haven't spoken to each other in four years."

### Today's EDUCATION DIRECTORY

Appears on Page 6

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ART BUCHWALD

Obligatory Advice

WASHINGTON—Every columnist worth his or her salt is obligated to write one open letter to the president...



Buchwald

Dear President Clinton: As far as I can see you're doing well, despite your job ratings. Keep in mind that pollsters talk only to disoriented Americans...

So far, I would give you an A-plus, but there's always room for improvement. When things aren't going well in Washington, I am told that one of your greyhound buses and take your case to the American people.

It is only when things are going

Marijuana Found In Ancient Tomb

WASHINGTON—A 1,600-year-old personal tragedy has yielded a glimpse of early medicinal uses of marijuana.

Raphael Mechoulam of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and colleagues reported in Nature their findings from an ancient family tomb near Jerusalem. The researchers recovered tiny amounts of 6-tetrahydrocannabinol, a component of cannabis...

I could load you down with a lot more advice, but I think that this is all you can handle right now. There's one more thing I want to warn you about. I want to keep your eye on Al Gore. I don't like the way he never says anything. He's acting weird for a vice president, and the public is getting the impression that the longer he stays quiet, the more he knows things that you don't.

Many Lives of a Broadway Star

By Lawrence O'Toole

NEW YORK—As overnight sensations go, Brent Carver is a fairly bland specimen. Playing an imprisoned gay window dresser who keeps his powder dry and spirit unbroken with elaborate movie fantasies in the John Kander-Fred Ebb musical "Kiss of the Spider Woman," Carver has received the kind of reviews only a mother could write.



Brent Carver, a sensation in "Kiss of the Spider Woman."

Most overnight Broadway sensations need to be gagged. But the 41-year-old Canadian has created a mystique about himself as an extraordinarily private person. One British journalist who interviewed Carver when he was in the London production of "Spider Woman" was moved to comment that he "is still adjusting to finding himself on Planet Earth."

His character, Molina, is not exactly of this world, either. To keep from going crazy in a nightmarish Latin American prison, he regales both himself and his cellmate, an apparently heterosexual heavy-duty Marxist named Valentin (played by Anthony Crivello), with fantasies of the silver screen. Always starting in them is an old-time film goddess, Aurora, embodied in song and dance by Chita Rivera.

Though he is making his debut on Broadway, Carver is well known in Canada, where he has worked steadily on the stage and in film and television for 23 years, including stints at the Stratford Festival in Ontario.

He has appeared in roles ranging from Ariel in "The Tempest" to the young American writer in "Cabaret" to his favorite, Rodolfo in "A View From the Bridge." But the American press has generally greeted his recent arrival on Broadway with the amazement reserved for someone found miraculously singing and dancing under a cabbage leaf.

"I don't mind it very much," he says politely. "When you come from a small town, you always feel like a newcomer in each bigger town." The small town in question is Cranbrook, British Columbia, near the Alberta border, where his father drove a logging truck and his mother waited tables. The third of seven children, the young Carver was a boy soprano

urged to sing whenever a gathering gave him an excuse.

"I seem to have started when I was very, very young—when I was 2 or 3. I'm not sure whether that comes from another life, perhaps. It may be a kind of destiny encoded in you." He says his family, none of whom is in show business, is happy for him and his parents are coming to New York. "For the first time ever," to catch his star turn. Indeed, he has been nominated for a Tony Award as a leading actor in a musical.

Carver has requested that the interview take place at the interviewer's home rather than a noisy restaurant, and he arrives promptly. His slim lanky frame is clad in a pair of old blue jeans, a gray turtleneck and a cardigan that can only be called homoerotic. His face—striking slate-blue eyes under a pre-Raphaelite crown of curls—is an anomaly: boyish yet lived-in.

losing yourself as gaining more of yourself."

To hear Carver describe the process, it seems one of the most intensely private acts imaginable carried on in full view of the public. "You can get lost in love," he says.

"And certainly you can get lost in the need and love for a certain something—call it success—in this business. But if all things are equal, you are allowed to be more of yourself on stage than off it. You allow that. Those emotions you wouldn't or couldn't get in touch with in ordinary life are possible on the stage.

"Your life doesn't stop for two hours and 30 minutes while you're playing a character, you know."

In playing Molina, Carver is well aware of the built-in traps of becoming identified with a particularly memorable character and of being linked in the public imagination with a gay character.

Molina, in fact, was not an easy impersonation. "I found it difficult for the first few months not to see more darkness than light in Molina," he says.

"My energies would shut down because I'd find myself getting drawn very much to the darkness of it all. I really lived within him those first few months. Actually, we lived within each other."

Asked what he would think of Molina if he were to meet him in real life, Carver says he is not sure. "Maybe initially I'd think, 'Oh, gosh, he's just going to keep talking.' But eventually I'd be very attracted to his sense of humor."

The character, he thinks, is essentially shy. "He does say to Valentin, 'I've loved only two people in my life. I think that's truly him.' Carver, who admits to being a loner, spends his days off in Central Park, or listening to Leonard Cohen. Southern Ontario, where he has a house, is too far to go on his time off. He is currently negotiating with the show's producers to get some time off this summer to go back to Cranbrook. "I'm like Molina a bit," he confesses. "I'm a homing pigeon—an exotic bird seeking home."

Lawrence O'Toole, who writes for Entertainment Weekly, contributed this to The New York Times.

PEOPLE

Top Cannes Prize Is Split

The Cannes film festival awarded the Golden Palm award Monday jointly to Chen Kaige of China, for his movie "Farewell to My Concubine," and to Jane Campion of New Zealand for "The Piano." It was the first time that a Chinese or a woman had been awarded the top prize in the festival's 46 years.

Princess Stéphanie of Monaco accepted undisclosed libel damages on Monday over a British newspaper article that suggested she had demanded a \$100,000 fee to attend a charity gala for the blind in Ireland. Lawyers for the mass-circulation Daily Mirror told the High Court the March 1992 story was unfounded. The newspaper apologized and agreed to pay Stéphanie's legal costs as well as the undisclosed damages. Her lawyers said she had never agreed to attend the event nor had she ever asked for a fee for attending a charity event. Stéphanie, the youngest of Prince Rainier's three children, was not in court for the hearing.

Barbra Streisand doesn't see anything wrong with Hollywood's close ties to President Bill Clinton. "We have the right as an industry, as people, as professionals, to be taken as seriously as automobile executives," she told the Los Angeles Times. She also resents the Washington media references to people in Hollywood as "nitwits," "bubbleheads" and "airheads." "How come nobody attacked the Republican White House for their involvement with Arnold Schwarzenegger, Charlton Heston and Bruce Willis?" Anyway, she asked, "Did the entertainment industry create the national debt?"

President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic; Peter Brook, the British theater director; Eunice Kennedy Shriver, the American founder of the Special Olympics

International, and Maurice Strong, the Canadian secretary-general of last year's Earth Summit, were honored Monday with the 1993 Ossiris International Awards. President Constantine Caramanlis of Greece presented the prizes in a ceremony at the Athens Concert Hall. The annual awards, worth \$100,000 each, are bestowed by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation to honor contributions in scholarship, human rights and the environment. The foundation was established from the will of shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis, in memory of his son, Alexander, who died in a plane crash at age 23.

About 50 years ago the comedian Red Skelton, acting on an idea gleaned from talking on the phone with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, raised enough money in two weeks from children in his radio audience to pay for an attack bomber for the Soviet Union. Pavel Skvirsky, then 23, flew the plane in World War II. The other day, Skvirsky met the 80-year-old comedian in a hotel restaurant in Philadelphia. Skvirsky hugged him and thanked him for the plane. "It was a very good plane," Skvirsky said.

A sexual harassment lawsuit against Tony Curtis and an art gallery by a University of Hawaii law student has been settled out of court. Naloni Markell, 29, accused the actor of touching her without permission and making repeated sexual advances from March 1987 to March 1988. At the time, she was assisting Curtis in producing paintings to be sold at the Waikiki gallery of Center Art Galleries. The gallery had put both of them up in a home. The plaintiff's father, Mark Markell, said the settlement was for a substantial amount of cash, but wouldn't reveal the figure. "There was no compromise. She set a cash demand and Center Art Galleries met it," he said. "She is ecstatic about it." The actor's lawyer said his client never admitted to any of the allegations.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED Appears on Pages 6 & 23

WEATHER

Table with weather forecasts for Europe, including cities like London, Paris, and Rome.

Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



North America: Scattered rain and showers with a shower possible in New York City and Washington, D.C. Wednesday, then sunnier and pleasant Thursday and Friday.

Table with weather forecasts for North America, including cities like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.

ASIA

Table with weather forecasts for Asia, including cities like Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Tokyo.

Asia: Shows and thunderstorms in Hong Kong Wednesday, then perhaps drying by the end of the week. Southerly rains in Taipei Wednesday and Thursday; the rains may reach southern Japan Friday.

Table with weather forecasts for Africa, including cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Lagos.

CROSSWORD

Crossword puzzle grid with clues for Across and Down words.

BOOKS

Helena Kane Finn, director of the Amerika Haus Library in Frankfurt, is reading "Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran" by Nikki R. Keddie and Yann Richard, and "Disuniting of America" by the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

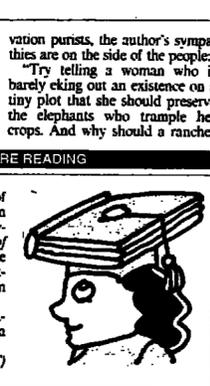
AT THE HAND OF MAN: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife

contrast virtually nothing has been written about the relationships between the African people and the wildlife. The early colonists did not care what Africans thought; and the current generation of conservationists working in Africa has not understood that a knowledge of African traditions and values can determine the success of their programs.

THE main theme that emerges from Raymond Bonner's powerful front-line report on the fate of Africa's wildlife can be found in a note at the end of "At the Hand of Man," his eye-opening new book: "There are volumes of books and academic papers and generously funded studies about the behavior of elephants, lions, cheetah, wild dogs and other wild animals, about everything from their mating habits to their social relationships, but by

contrast virtually nothing has been written about the relationships between the African people and the wildlife. The early colonists did not care what Africans thought; and the current generation of conservationists working in Africa has not understood that a knowledge of African traditions and values can determine the success of their programs.

because they stay in Western-managed hotels, fly between parks and are chauffeured around in minivans. To be sure, he's just as concerned about the fate of the animals, but his approach is to see them through the minds and needs of the Africans themselves.



and by whom elephant herds should be culled. "At the Hand of Man" (the title derives from Genesis 9:5) sees hope for Africa's wildlife in organizations where local people are granted authority by the state to exercise dominion in their own districts.



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